THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

CHINA

Christians at the Crossroads

John Stewart Burgess

The Yellow Book of the Industrial Revolution

Vera Kelsey

COAL

The Mind of the Miner

By Robert W. Bruère

PROHIBITION

The Churches Report: What's to be Done About It?—*F. Ernest Johnson*

WILL DENMARK DISARM?

The Issue Again Before Parliament in October—*Joseph K. Hart*

Forces at Work Behind the Newspaper Headlines

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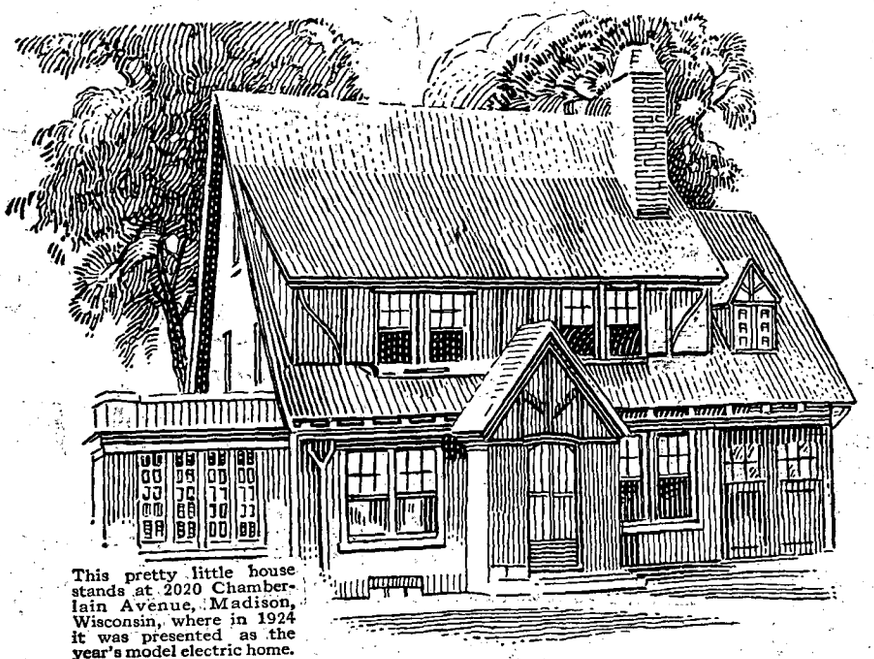

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It is interesting to know that this demonstration of what electricity can do in the modern home was made by the General Electric Company—the same company that has made such immense contributions to the use of electricity by the railroads, by big steel mills, and by every other branch of modern industry.

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Wonderful as these things have been, and are, progress in electric development is continuous. Scientists never lose interest in improving their homes—and yours.

GENERAL ELECTRIC

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Money's Red Flag

THEY—thousands of men and women—have precious dollars saved through years of self-denial and courage.

Once they get the notion that their dollars can be doubled or trebled in a short time, through speculation or luck, nothing but the loss of all or part of their treasure brings them to a clear understanding of the perils of investment. They need the danger signal—money's red flag of warning—the danger signal of unwarranted risk.

* * * *

To the office of a big insurance company come pathetic stories of money lost in speculation and unwise investments. Dismayed men and women, when it is too late, tell their experiences of funds provided by life insurance or saved by thrift, lost in wild-cat schemes promising great returns, sunk in "sure thing" tips from well-meaning friends and relatives, or frittered away in stock speculation.

The pity of it is that the hardest blows often fall on those least able to bear them—on men past the age of self-support, on women with no business experience, on young people trying to get a start in the world.

The Eternal Temptation

Over and over again one hears, "Surely there must be some way that I can get more than 6% on my money with safety. I am promised—practically guaranteed—that a certain stock will pay 10% or more and probably double in value. Only a few people know about this. A friend has just told me and says I must act quickly or lose the chance. Shall I invest?" The answer, in most cases, is "NO—that is not an investment, it is a speculation."

DOLLAR PIRATES!

"The first thing to do, Blackie, is to look at the map and pick out a town where smart people have money in banks. Somewhere in this big United States people have been saving up coin for years, just waiting for us to come and get it."

So said J. Rufus (Get-Rich-Quick) Wallingford, smiling and engaging character from the pen of the late George Randolph Chester. So true to life—his counterparts are to be found the world over. Bold in the open and cunning behind cover, they plunder alike the simple, the greedy, the rich and the poor.

According to Postmaster General New, the people of this country are robbed by dollar pirates of more than $1,000,000,000 a year in mail-fraud schemes alone! How much more is lost through other frauds cannot be estimated.

Don't let a Wallingford get *your* savings!

The dollar pirates point to a few fabulously wealthy men and tell you that these men took chances. But they say nothing about the brains and the hard work which these men put in, along with their money. The victim listens, believes, plunges—and loses.

Records show that in all lines of business, good, bad and indifferent, large and small, the majority of new enterprises fail. And in the purely speculative, big-promise ventures the losses are appalling.

There is a definite danger line in investing money, and that line is located today at about 6%. This does not mean that everything below 6% is sound, nor that everything above is speculative, but—Money's Red Flag of warning appears at this level. Beware of the untried, unseasoned offerings. Remember—"the higher the rate the greater the risk." Remember also that those who have but little money to invest are the ones who can least afford to take chances.

Investing is a Profession

Investing money is a highly specialized profession based on a wide knowledge and constant study of many lines of business. None but experts know the comparative and ever changing values of various investments. Safe investments cannot be made on memory of *past* values.

Go to a bank and ask to be directed to the best man to advise you about investment. You will find yourself welcome in the best bank in your community, even though you have only a small amount to invest. The banker of today will try to protect you against fraudulent investments because general prosperity, which includes yours, helps the bank's prosperity.

The United States Government is trying to put out of business and put in jail all investment crooks and especially those who prey upon persons of small means—who can least afford to lose their money. Whenever you receive circulars or pamphlets or letters offering to make you rich over night, turn them over to the Post Office Department so that the Government may investigate and, if necessary, prosecute. Better Business Bureaus of various cities, bankers associations, national associations of manufacturers and other groups are issuing warnings against fake stock promoters. Many organizations are joining hands to prevent the stealing of billions of dollars by these financial tricksters.

Many of the foremost manufacturing plants are trying to protect their workers by issuing warnings in pay envelopes and on Bulletin Boards. Suggestions for notices will be mailed on request to interested executives.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company will neither criticize nor advise as to any particular investment but will be glad to mail free a booklet, "How to Invest Your Money" dealing with the general problem of investing which may aid you to avoid financial pitfalls. Send for it.

HALEY FISKE, *President.*

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Analytic Index to This Number

October 1, 1925

Child Welfare:

Factory welfare work among Chinese children, p. 13
Importance of the preschool period, p. 30 ff.
Prohibition and the adolescent, p. 34

Law and Lawbreakers:

The enforcement of prohibition, p. 36

The Promotion of Health:

Preventable defects in a young child, p. 32
Prohibition, disease and mortality, p. 34
Sanitary conditions in Chinese workrooms, p. 56-57

Mental Hygiene:

Mental ratings of infancy, p. 33

Town Planning:

Slum clearance in large cities, p. 44

The City Community:

The dance hall and the working girl, p. 37

Immigration and Race Relations:

Race discrimination and the Chinese, p. 8
Immigrant education in California, p. 43
An Americanization program in a New England town, p. 45

School and Community:

Student interests in China, p. 8-9
The place of the mission school in China, p. 10
The importance of the Danish Folk Highschools, p. 27

Education Outside the School:

The California plan for adult education, p. 43
What should the worker read? p. 48
Efforts at education in Chinese factories, p. 58

Industrial Conditions:

Factory conditions in China, p. 11, 15
Wages in the anthracite mines, p. 19
The migratory worker on the stage, p. 46
Wages and the cost of living in Chinese factories, p. 56

Industrial Relations:

The Poor Man's Workshop in Nanking, p. 13
Defects of contract labor in China, p. 14
The changed attitude of the anthracite miners, p. 17-19
Why the miners dislike arbitration, p. 20

Peace and International Relations:

The Christian church in China, p. 10
Disarmament in Denmark, p. 25 ff.
Review of recent events in China, p. 41
The Swarthmore Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, p. 42
Military Preparedness in China, p. 49

Motives and Ideals:

The new spirit in China, p. 8 ff.
Importance of the public mind, p. 17
Public opinion and prohibition, p. 35
What is American responsibility in China? p. 42
What education is for, p. 43
Danish civilization and modern ideas, p. 54

A Challenge to See It Through

Statistical charts, studies and surveys show conclusively that a marked decrease in the social evils attributed to drink, followed immediately the advent of Constitutional Prohibition.

There was a sudden and unmistakable decline in drink-made poverty, disease, neglect and crime, with a corresponding upward trend in living conditions, as reflected in public health and welfare.

The apparent reversal of some of these conditions, noted in recent statistical reports emphasizes that:

(1) The illegal liquor traffic has intensified its organization and set in motion a far-reaching plan to encourage law violation and rob the people of the benefits of the prohibition law.

(2) Political corruption, as manifest in the spoils system, in indifference and lack of sympathy—or worse— of many high officials, is responsible for lax enforcement.

(3) The church constituency and social agencies which were chiefly responsible for securing the Eighteenth Amendment have become over-confident, or indifferent to the completion of their great task of redeeming mankind from the age-old evil of alcoholism, while the wet organizations are increasingly active in carrying out their plans.

The Cure

The cure lies not in any concession, but in a renewed constructive effort on the part of all workers for humanity. The social conscience of the people must be re-awakened and the militant spirit of the churches re-aroused. Men and women must impress upon those officials charged with the enforcement of the law, that they insist upon honest compliance with the mandate of the Constitution and efficient administration of the law supporting it.

Education Imperative

The Anti-Saloon League is impressed with the imperative need of a great campaign of education which will convince multiplied thousands of the wisdom of the prohibition policy, and the duty of every good citizen to obey the law.

Your help is needed to hold and extend the benefits of the 18th Amendment and to bring about a real abolition of the liquor traffic. Will you write to us as a pledge of interest and fellowship in this great movement?

Name .....

Street Address .....

City and State.....

ARTHUR J. DAVIS,
State Superintendent,
Anti-Saloon League of New York,
370 Seventh Ave., New York City.

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SURVEY GRAPHIC FOR NOVEMBER

CITY HEALTH

Where Does Your City Stand?

A Special Issue
Edited by HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.
and MARY ROSS
Associate Editors of The Survey

With the Cooperation of
American Child Health Association
American Public Health Association
American Social Hygiene Association
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
Milbank Memorial Fund
National Organization for Public Health Nursing
National Health Council
National Tuberculosis Association

This issue will give you the slide rule by which experts may judge the soundness of the bulwark which your city places between you and sickness or premature death.

It will provide a simple working plan by which you can gage for yourself the effectiveness of work in your own community.

It will tell of the struggle of the cities for survival, and of the men and measures and inventions which are winning it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

City Health—How to Get It and Keep It. By Haven Emerson, M.D., former commissioner of health, New York City.
The place of the Health Department in the drama of American life and progress. The stakes of the average citizen.

The Good Fight. By Chester H. Rowell, formerly chairman of the California Social Insurance Commission.
The unceasing warfare of science and anti-science, by one who has fought in the thick of it.

The Economics of Health. By Louis I. Dublin, Ph.D., statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.
What high or low health standards mean to a city.

What Should a City Do?

A Large City. By Ira V. Hiscock, C.P.H., assistant professor of Public Health, Yale School of Medicine.
A mosaic of the best public health practice in the country today.

A Small City. By Philip S. Platt, C.P.H., associate director in research, American Child Health Association.
What can be done, told in terms of actual accomplishment.

What a Citizen Can Do. By George T. Palmer, Dr. P.H., director division of research, American Child Health Association.

Public and Private—and Both. By Homer Folks, secretary, New York State Charities Aid Association.

Health Officers I Have Met. By William A. Evans, M.D., formerly health commissioner of Chicago.

A New Health Force—The Teacher. By C. E. Turner, department of biology and public health, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

A New Social Force—The Nurse. By Katharine Tucker, R.N., general director, the Visiting Nurse Society of Philadelphia.

As An Outlander Sees Us. By Sir Arthur Newsholme.
A birdseye view of health practice in the U. S. A., by the distinguished English sanitarian.

The Inventors' Work Shops of the United States. By Mary Ross.

GRAPHS SCORING OUR PRINCIPAL CITIES
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CHARTS—DIAGRAMS—CHECK-UPS

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THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LV, No. 1 October 1, 1925

CONTENTS

CHRISTIANS AT THE CROSSROADS . . . . *John Stewart Burgess* 7
THE YELLOW BOOK OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION . . . . . *Vera Kelsey* 11
THE MIND OF THE ANTHRACITE MINERS . *Robert W. Bruère* 16
PORTRAITS OF PLAIN PEOPLE . *George B. Luks* 20
WILL DENMARK DISARM? . . *Joseph K. Hart* 25
BEFORE SIX . . . . . *Mary Ross* 30
WHAT THE CHURCHES FIND AS TO PROHIBITION 34
WHAT'S TO BE DONE ABOUT IT? . . . . *F. Ernest Johnson* 35
THE NEW HOUSE . *Eleanor Rowland Wembridge* 37
LETTERS & LIFE 41
EDITORIALS 45

The Gist of It

NEWS is News—North, East, West, South; but so swiftly do the headlines click into place, day after day, in a newspaper office, that editors and readers alike are only partly conscious of the way in which the spotlight of the front page swings from one realm of public concern to another, from one part of the globe to another. And news is not merely what happens abroad, but what people are interested in at home.

A magazine is much less delicate an instrument; it plans in advance and responds swiftly to only the more sweeping shifts in public concern. Therefore it registers these more emphatically; they stand out; especially in a journal of social interpretation like Survey Graphic, which sets out as one of its liveliest educational purposes to discover what lies behind the newspaper headlines.

Such a shift is registered in this, the first number of our new volume. At the eleventh hour articles announced are deferred and right of way given to observers who throw a shaft of light on the social forces at work in China.

FEW Americans have had such a coign of vantage for observation as Professor Burgess (p. 7) in his pioneering educational and social work at Princeton-in-Peking. Back in 1917 he wrote a series of articles for The Survey on The Social Challenge of China in which he forecast developments which have now become history. The title he placed on his present manuscript was A New National Consciousness in Old China. But as you read on, it is the yeasty impact of this consciousness upon the Christian forces in China, native and foreign alike, which becomes his main theme. That the situation is one of hope as well as stress is due to men and women who like Professor Burgess himself—there has been a mounting company of them—have brought a plastic outlook and a social content into the new work in this old mission field.

MORE than two years ago Vera Kelsey brought back to her home in the Dakotas the chapters of a book on the life and labor of China. As confidential secretary to the general manager of the China General Edison Company of Shanghai, she had had unusual access to mills, workrooms, offices and the other centers of the spreading factory system. She had investigated these things in contributing a series of articles to the North China Daily News. In her book she interpreted as never before the industrial revolution in terms of the Orient and the 20th century. Certain chapters of it have been published in Asia. In this issue of Survey Graphic she gives the life of the mills as she found it (p. 11); in the December Graphic she will interpret the human recoil which takes form in the new labor movement.

HOW the American business man's psychology—not in the minds of the operators but in that of the mine workers—is giving an altogther new cast to the strike in the anthracite fields, is the arresting discovery of Robert W. Bruère, industrial editor of The Survey (p. 16). Perhaps that's why there's been so little about the strike in the newspapers, compared with the old days when the editorial columns thundered, according to their bent, about bloody jowled capitalists and rioting roughnecks. But the newspapers don't offer an explanation of the change. Mr. Bruère does—fresh from a visit to the coal fields.

THE world is full of war correspondents; but your peace correspondent must be a path-breaker. That is, if he gets away from the foreign offices to the folk ways of a people. Such was Professor Hart's commission for The Survey last summer in Denmark. What a small nation does may not matter. But forces at work among its people may be big with significance. These Professor Hart interprets rarely (p. 25).

THAT important preschool period—when a child "acquires and perfects a language, lays the foundations of his ideas of the family, of sex, of money, of birth and death and most of the other more or less insoluble problems of the human race," when he has acquired a certain amount of control over his five senses and an amount of muscular coordination that would put some adults to shame, is the period which Dr. Arnold Gesell and his associates have been studying at the Yale Psychoclinic during the past six years. Mary Ross of The Survey staff visited the clinic and gives us (p. 30) an account of the way the work is carried on.

SINCE The Survey's book list on the coal problem was published in our September Midmonthly, another volume has been issued which will especially provoke the attention of our readers, for it is by a contributing editor to this magazine. Coal by Edward T. Devine gives an independent portrayal of the situation disclosed by the U. S. Coal Commission, and crystalizes his proposals of public policy.

FOR the first time we have had a frank nationwide appraisal of the prohibition situation from the house of its friends. The report of the Federal Council of Churches is summarized (p. 33) and the executive secretary of the Department of Research and Education which made it, answers our query "What's to be done about it?"

"IT don't pay to love money too much, and to want more things that it buys than you can afford." That is what Lena Denko found out after her father had sacrificed everything to his desire for a new house (p. 37). Mrs. Wembridge gives us another moving document resulting from her work with the Women's Protective Association of Cleveland.

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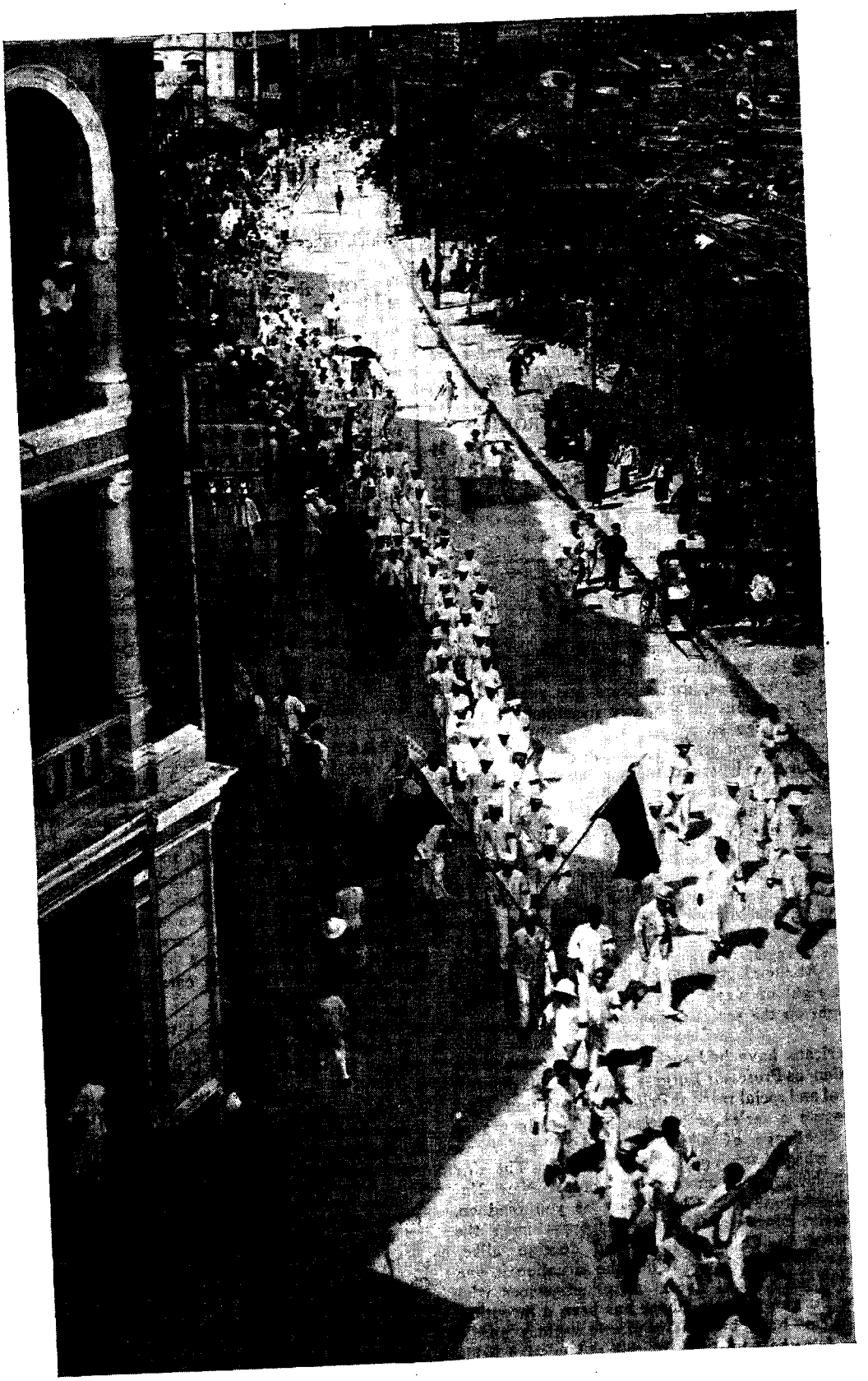

Courtesy of Canton Christian College

CHINESE STUDENTS PARADING ON THE CANTON BUND

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THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

OCTOBER 1, 1925

Volume LV
No. 1

Christians at the Crossroads

By JOHN STEWART BURGESS

Princeton-in-Peking, Head of the Department of Sociology, Yenching University, Peking

"DOWN with British aggression," the hoarse voice of the student cheer leader called out. "Down with British aggression," yelled the two hundred or more college mates that followed next in order in the huge parade. For over an hour they had been passing slowly by on Hatamen Street in Peking, a well disciplined but intense mass of surging patriots—students principally, but many from the labor organizations—some twenty to thirty thousand people. They had assembled at one o'clock before the great Front Gate—the Heavenly Peace Gate—of the Forbidden City, and were making this June afternoon the first great popular demonstration in Peking in protest against the "Shanghai Outrage" of the now historic May 30, 1925.

For a week in advance we had known of the plan for this demonstration and had wondered just what form it would take. Everywhere in evidence on the walls and telegraph poles were pictures depicting the Shanghai affair. Turbanned sheiks with guns in their hands were portrayed as standing over the prostrate forms of massacred students. The latter half of the instructions to the Shanghai Municipal Police was printed on many of the signs: "Shoot to Kill." (The whole order had instructed the police never to shoot at all unless in the very last extremity and then "shoot to kill.")

With these reverberations of Shanghai events reaching them, the Legations at Peking had gotten nervous and extra guards had been placed at the entrance of the Legation Quarter, with barbed wire entanglements. The local garrison commander, General Liu, who had "done the trick" for General Feng Yu Hsiang when he marched into Peking a few months ago and captured the capital, had also placed fifty or more of his own men at each entrance.

But as has become so usual in judging Chinese affairs, the prophets of ill omen were mistaken. The crowd was orderly and merely bent on display of the national feeling of indignation.

Water carriers, artisans, merchants and students carrying signs and shouting in rythmic responses, filed by. "Boycott British and Japanese Goods"; "Do away with Extra-territoriality"; "We favor the retrocession of Foreign Concessions"; "Down with Imperialism"; "Down with British Aggression"; "We are not Bolshevist; We are not Anti-Christian; We are not Anti-Foreign; We are for Humanity." These signs and others of similar nature were in evidence. One huge painting of Justice as a white-robed woman mourning over the slaughtered students was carried.

中華民國

The realization came home to us as we watched the grim-faced marching thousands that a new national spirit had come to light. The Shanghai incident had been the occasion that had brought into being an incipient national consciousness of an intensity and depth not formerly thought possible. Two years ago an "incident" in Hongkong far more provocative of indignation had given birth to no such national protest. Unarmed strikers had been most arbitrarily forbidden by the British authorities to leave Hongkong and go over to Canton. When attempt peaceably to make their way to Chinese controlled territory was made, they were fired on by order of the British authorities and several were killed. Some furor in the press resulted from

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Poster circulated by the students and strikers, showing the victims of the Shanghai clash

this incident but no national movement like the present one.

The fact of importance in the total situation in China is not the Shanghai incident but the revelation that for the first time in recent Chinese history an act of this nature will create nation-wide and united indignation. China is becoming articulate.

THE great danger in the present situation is not the surging of new life in this nation, but the very great probability that certain foreign nations will fail to recognize this new state of mind in old China.

Why has this change of attitude and this new sensitiveness come about? The general spread of education and consequent increased number of Chinese that know a bit about history and international relations, the undoubted lower estimate of foreigners that has resulted from the reported brutal and unjust diplomacy in connection with the European war, and above all, the fact that two great nations no longer enjoy extra-territorial rights, Germany and Russia, are some of the causes for this change of attitude towards "foreign aggression."

Wide World Photos

Anti-foreign poster on a door near the British embassy

Just before this great demonstration a group of Chinese were giving a send-off luncheon for one of their number who was going abroad. Included in the group were two ex-vice ministers of education, the financial wizard of China, chief secretary to the president of the Bank of China, some teachers and a dean of a theological seminary. The conversation ran on as if the one foreigner was not present. The Shanghai shooting had taken place only ten days previous and it was the one topic of conversation. Was the main trend of the remarks centered upon the terrible cruelty of the police or the unjust treaties and how they had been forced upon China? By no means, but stories of this kind were told with indignation: A highly educated Chinese young woman was returning from her studies in England. She found upon applying for reservations to the Steamship Company that it was impossible for her to secure passage unless she bought two tickets and reserved an entire state room. When asked a reason for this, the reply was that there were no other Chinese booked and that it would be impossible for the company to sell the other berth in the cabin to any white person. The ex-vice minister of education told of the extreme indignation of a noted American educator regarding the overbearing social attitude of a British fellow passenger towards the Chinese on a Yangtse river boat. Another repeated how his personal friend had been roughly and impolitely handled by the foreign police in Shanghai. A young man who had a few years ago returned from his studies in England told of his experience on shipboard. There were four British young men aboard, three of whom were on the very best of social terms with him, but the fourth who had lived in Shanghai would have absolutely nothing to do with him. He remarked that many British young men were good fellows but if they lived a while in Shanghai they got the idea that all Chinese were inferior to them. It became quite evident that the sense of unfavorable racial discrimination was the root cause of their indignation. It is the attitude of superiority and of racial pride on the part of the foreigners that has deeply wounded the national racial pride of China. This is the foundation of the whole trouble.

A WEEK at the Western Hills near Peking during the last days of June with one hundred Chinese college students from twenty different institutions in Tientsin, Peking, Paotingfu and Tsinanfu, afforded another opportunity to "listen in" and hear first hand what this time young China had to say. These conferences have been going on each summer for the past fifteen years. In previous years they had resembled very closely the student conferences held at Geneva and Silver Bay in America. This year the complexion of the conference was much more thoroughly Chinese. The subjects for discussion had been previously selected after careful canvass of student opinion and by actual voting. The leadership was almost entirely Chinese. The conference program centered around five early morning discussion groups led by students and the program for the rest of the day followed along the lines opened up in the

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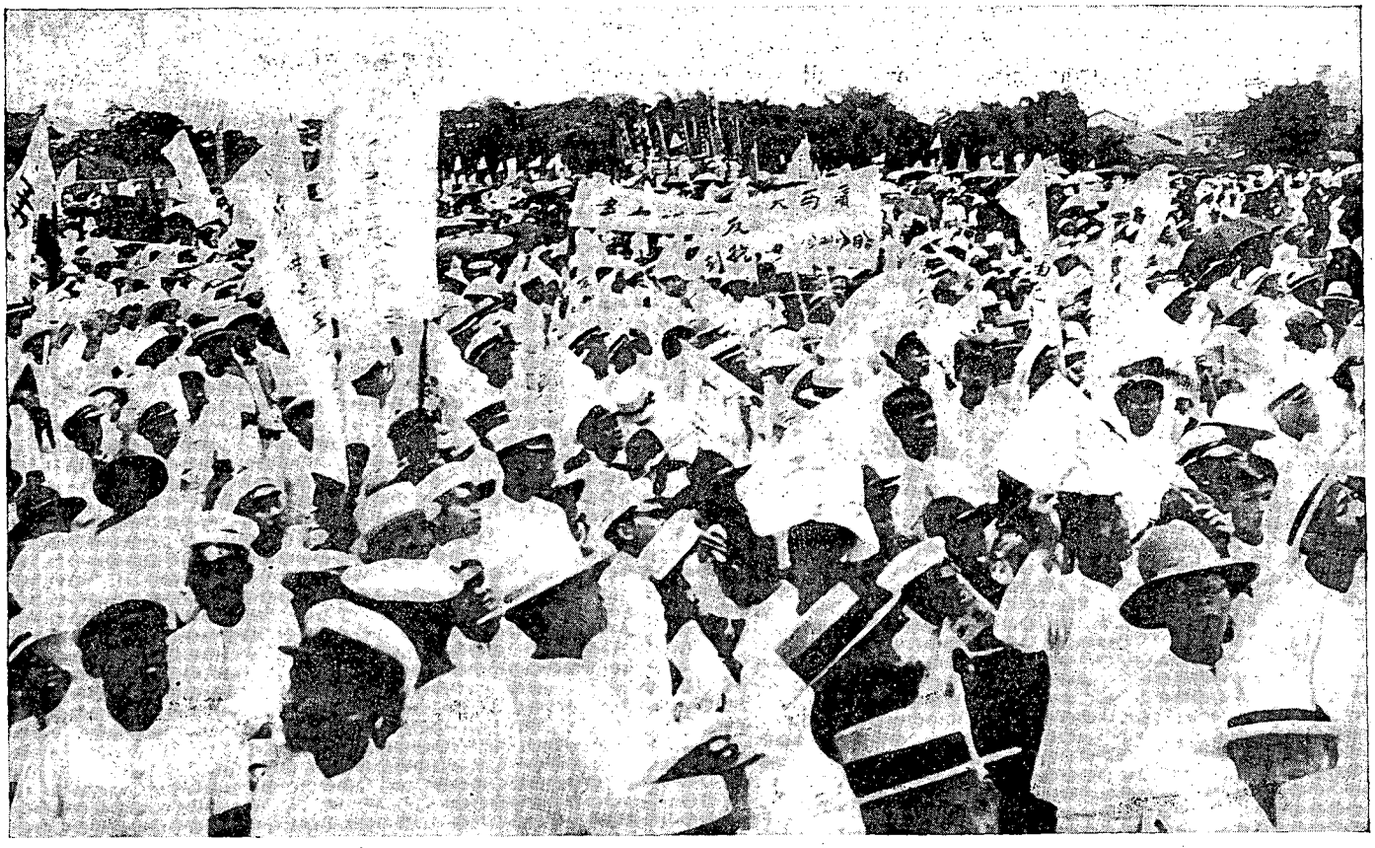


Courtesy of Canton Christian College

Gathering of students on the parade grounds at Canton just before the Shameen riot of June 23, when they paraded in sympathy with the students slain at Shanghai. Translated, the posters read "We Must Not Forget the Shanghai Incident"; "We Must Develop Our Labor Industries"; "Abolish the Mixed Court."

morning discussions. The leaders, a very few of whom were Westerners, were instructed by the conference management kindly to listen in the discussion groups and only to give their opinion when requested by the students.

Morning after morning we sat through the most intense and best led discussions that many of us had heard in China. Student after student "spoke out." All were given a good hearing if they talked to the point, as they generally did, and no time was wasted in the hour and a half period. The points were recorded on the black board and reappraised during the end of the period.

The topics under discussion were:

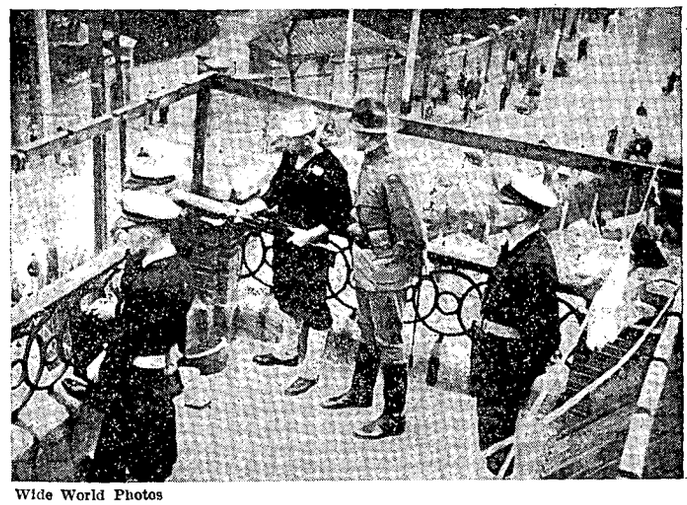
1. Poverty and its removal.
2. Christianity and nationalism.
3. The problem of Christian education.
4. The present political situation resulting from the Shanghai incident.
5. How can the student find a worth while life work.
6. The students' life and problems.

The subjects originally chosen included The Problem of Love and Marriage. This topic was omitted to give place to the questions arising from the Shanghai incident.

The note of sincerity and the desire for sacrifice and the spirit of intense nationalism pervaded all these meetings.

Even in the discussion of the obviously internal problem of poverty, the international situation was given much prominence. Is not the Customs Service in the hands of foreigners and are we not restricted in the amount of duty we can levy? Does this fact not restrict the national wealth? The advantages derived from the efficient management of the Customs Service by foreigners were entirely forgotten in the indignation over the fact that foreigners control what rightfully is a Chinese matter. But this discussion by no means mainly centered here. Practical suggestions regarding the promotion of societies for cooperative credit as a means of helping China's poverty stricken condition were emphasized and a constitution for student cooperation was drafted.

In the discussion on Christianity and nationalism, the new trends showed themselves even more clearly. It was claimed that many foreign missionaries show a condescend-



Wide World Photos

American naval officer inspecting machine gun above Nanking road near Shanghai

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ing attitude towards the Chinese people. The alleged manner of living of foreign missionaries; their unjust treatment of Chinese co-workers; their enjoyment of extra-territorial privileges and protection; the materialism of the type of Christianity often presented; the claim that missionaries often do not live above national prejudice; these, and many other criticisms were given voice to. A naive remark was passed by a Chinese conference leader. In discussing the situation he said: "Now is the time for all Chinese Christians to be intensely patriotic but we do not want foreign missionaries who are too patriotic but those who are internationalists." His statement contained terrible logic but good common sense and was essentially sound from the viewpoint of the evolution of national consciousness in this country. The Chinese people as a whole have up to recently been lacking in a wholesome sense of national pride and desire for public service. The church has been under fire for being dominated by foreign interests. The time seems to have come in the evolution of China when it is highly desirable for all Chinese to show their national solidarity and patriotic feeling. It is equally evident that foreigners living in China would do well to curb the "patriotism" which so often takes the form of a consciousness of national superiority and to look at problems here with a wholesome spirit of internationalism.

Among the many concrete suggestions for the improvement of the situation in the management of the church was that it should be so reorganized that the Chinese would at least have joint control of all policies. Resolutions were unanimously approved concerning the development of an indigenous Chinese church and were later distributed to the missionaries of North China. The analysis of the situation is so clear that it will be of value to quote in full:

Christianity in China today is undergoing three fundamental tests: (1) In view of the criticisms which the Chinese Renascence Movement is making of Christianity, will it be able to survive this period of revaluation and, if so, what will its future place be and what contribution will it have to make to Chinese civilization. (2) A rising national consciousness is declaring that Christianity as now found in China is foreign in its psychology and organization, and is regarded by many as being a tool of foreign aggression and imperialism. (3) A deepening social purpose with a tendency toward humanism is asking what has Christianity to do with the elemental human needs. Is it an individual religion of individuals lost in meaningless ceremonies and outworn creeds, or has it a message for the daily life of man today?

The combined influence of these three factors makes it easy for many to oppose Christianity and for others to be utterly indifferent to it. The recent Shanghai incident has brought out in bold relief the weaknesses in the present situation. While the Chinese Christians have stood unitedly in opposition to the inhumanity of the shooting down of unarmed peple, many of the missionaries have been silent on this question, and in some cases mission schools acting under the direction of foreign authorities have even suppressed the student movement which has arisen in protest. This has caused a fundamental questioning in the minds of many of the members of the Christian Church in China and some are even asking whether in the future Chinese and Western Christians can fruitfully cooperate. If this situation continues the outlook for the Christian movement is very dark. Generations of devoted labor on the part of earlier missionary and Chinese workers will come to naught unless something is done to improve the situation. We, the Christian students of the North China Student Conference, holding the conviction that Christianity can save China, and realizing that the Chinese Christian Movement belongs to the people of China, express our view that if there is anything in the Christian Movement in China which is not in harmony with the spirit of Christ the chief responsibility for overcoming it rests with us. We, therefore, make the following two suggestions:

(1) Chinese Christians should to the extent of their ability devote their efforts to the realization of a Chinese Christian Church which will be truly indigenous. To this end every effort should be put forth to find financial resources and able Chinese leaders for the Christian movement. Moreover a united effort on the part of all Christians is required if the Church is o be truly Chinese in character and have a message for the life of our people today.

(2) Missionary policy should give special attention to the following three points:

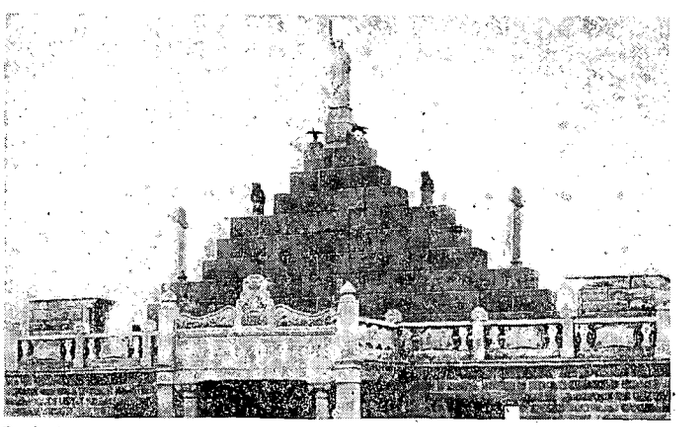
A. Missionaries should have such a deep sincerity that they will be willing to help China not only in word but also in concrete deeds which will place them above all suspicion of working for ulterior purposes.

B. In finances there should be increasing support given to Christian programs rather than a sending of an ever increasing body of foreign missionaries to China, and financial support given to Chinese work should be given in such a way as to make more self-support result.

C. Future missionaries should have advanced training and actual experience, and should have the attitude which will cause them to gain a sympathetic appreciation and understanding of Chinese culture. Special emphasis should be given to training Chinese leaders, and gradually the actual control of the work should be entrusted to them.

In putting out these statements we desire on the one hand to give a timely interpretation of present Chinese thought to our foreign co-workers, and at the same time to remind ourselves of the serious importance of the task of establishing the Kingdom of God on earth, and to recognize that unless the Chinese Christian youth has resolved to assume its responsibility without attempting to evade difficulties and sacrifices, it will be impossible to realize the ideal of an indigenous Christian Church in our country.

IN the discussion on the Place of the Mission School in China, the criticisms of foreigners' activities became even more intense. The church, it was admitted, is a propagandist institution but schools should be divested of this aim. Compulsory religious instruction and worship were the center of attack. The mission schools it was held, undermine Chinese culture; do not emphasize the national language sufficiently; suppress in many cases a patriotic movement; fail to register under the Chinese Government, operating independently only because of extra-territorial rights. Many strong points of Christian educational institutions were pointed out. The mission schools were admittedly better disciplined;



P. & A.

Chinese statue of Liberty in Canton

(*Continued on page* 49)

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The Yellow Book of the Industrial Revolution

By VERA KELSEY

Americans are involved, whether we will or no, in what is transpiring in China in these months of social turmoil. We are involved not only by our sympathies but because we share in the international government at Shanghai, where the clash of last May may be compared to the Boston Tea Party.

But back of the political and religious ferment and the rising nationalism, lies the deeper economic unrest. We are involved, not only in the persons of our diplomats and missionaries, but in those of our investors and employers.

Millions are still engaged in the handicrafts of China as against thousands who work in the factories. None the less, the industrial revolution in all its early grimness, sweeps on apace, girdling the world; economic history repeats itself, unrolling in this new century a blood-stained yellow parchment of vast dimensions. Of these things Miss Kelsey writes with knowledge and social insight.

The scent of cocoons boiling fills the street,
The women in each house in busy bands
With smiling faces gather round the stove
And rub together their steam scalded hands.
They throw the bright cocoons into the basin
And wind out silk in long unbroken skeins.
When evening comes, they've earned a moment's rest
To chat with friends, outside in the walled lane.

SO the poet pictures the birthplace of Chinese industry, the Chinese home, and handicraft manufacture, its mother.

From the picture we might weave a fable of a mother so engrossed with her brood of handicraft dyers, spinners, weavers, embroiderers, carvers, carders, tinsmiths, shoe makers, rug makers, and so on and on, that she does not miss the littlest boy who ran away with the foreigner. Nor does she know that he, grown rich and powerful, is luring away his brothers and sisters till some day she will sit idle in her barren, deserted home.

Except in the port cities on the Pacific Ocean and in the outports having access to the largest rivers and canals where machine industry is intrenched, handicraft manufacture drifts along as it has through the centuries, rousing momentarily as another member slips away to join the industrialism of the west, lapsing again into the old inertia and reliance on the guilds and What Has Always Been to keep her undisturbed.

It is not the great modern concrete factories of Shanghai and Wusih that will strike the fatal blow at the old domestic industry, but the remodeled Chinese homes and temples and simple rectangular structures of wood and tile erected temporarily to house machinery and train operators. The modern factories represent the foreign interests in China and the Chinese mill owners who have grown old and wise through years of foreign contact. The makeshifts represent the ventures of Chinese of the old school, by nature, training, and every influence opposed to the encroachment of the west, yet converts now to its industrialism.

Pass around the devil's wall protecting the entrance to a one-time official residence, and unwind the paths through moon gates and decaying rock gardens to what was once the reception hall and you come upon the main workroom of a canning factory. Or stand in the courtyards of old temples where supplies of wool, cotton, peanuts, or bean products are heaped in the sun. Visit workrooms where once Buddha sat, silent and awful, upon the lotus. Some of the very suppliants who came to pray for rice and burn incense and candles are now there earning the money to pay for rice. The temporary structures filled with machinery of antique and modern design, manned by operators of newly fledged experience are less picturesque but equally significant of the growth and strength of that young upstart, machine industry.

With the oldest machine power factories only a little more than thirty years of age, up to date plants but eight or ten at the most, and these temporary structures going up over night, labor conditions in China could hardly be worse.

IN the scant half century of its span in China, modern industry has taken root along the seacoast, the thousand miles between Tientsin and Hongkong, and follows the waterways into the interior. Hankow, six hundred miles up the Yangtse River, through its numerous and modernly equipped industrial enterprises is generaly known as the "Chicago of the Orient." Foreign owned and controlled industries cling to the treaty ports because of the surer protection, communication and transportation facilities, but native concerns are pushing in wherever opportunity offers.

A recent estimate gives the number of modern factories as 1400. (This is exclusive of the thousands of semi-modern plants.) Eighty of these are cotton spinning and weaving mills, 218 silk filatures, 95 flour mills, 82 electric lighting plants, 121 oil and bean cake factories, etc. As China is the third cotton producing country in the world, cotton spinning is naturally her greatest industry. Over 2,000,000 spindles now operate and an additional million or so is in process of installation.

The three vast and congested floors of the Commercial Museum of Shanghai, where manufactured goods from all

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Women silk workers who led a strike and struggled hard for union organization

over China are on display, reveal scores of other products—alcohol, bricks, chemicals, cement, cereals, drugs, dyestuffs, electric lights, egg products, furniture, fish, grasscloth, glassware, hosiery, ice, jam, leatherware, lace, machinery, matches, nuts, photo supplies, quilts, railway cars and equipment, sugar, ships, salt, textiles, tea, toilet articles, umbrellas, underwear, woolen goods, yeast, and many, many others from pearl buttons to water mains.

It is not by chance that Shanghai has been the match which lighted the fires of international controversy last May, just as the small war between Kiangsu province and Chekiang over her revenues touched off the internal conflagration. Because of her twice valuable position on the Yangtse River and Pacific Ocean, Shanghai has become the greatest of China's industrial cities. The raw materials from north and south can reach her by sea and from the interior by way of the canals and the Yangtse. In the same way she can distribute by sea and river machinery and goods brought to her wharves from every port in the world. Then, too, because of her large foreign concessions which have protected her industries from extortion, taxation and other forms of pressure, both foreign and native manufacturers found here the most desirable location. This combination has made her one of the greatest ports in the world, clearing a total of 22,498,000 tons in 1920.

JAPAN because of its propinquity, Great Britain because of her colonial policy, have taken the greater part in the industrial development in China. The Ewo Cotton Mills, Ltd., Oriental Cotton Spinning and Weaving Company, and the Laoukungmow Cotton Spinning and Weaving Company, to name but three British enterprises, operate over a quarter million spindles and three thousand looms. The British also in the Tientsin-Pukow Railway headquarters across the river from Nanking, manufacture everything from car wheels to private cars de luxe. In 1922 the Japanese were operating approximately half a million spindles while installing four hundred thousand more. Three companies, Shanghai Cotton Manufacturing, Sino-Japanese Cotton Manufacturing, and Naigai Wata Kaisha practically control the Japanese interests.

C. C. Nieh, H. Y. Moh, and Chang Chien, all owners of giant cotton mills are China's foremost industrialists. Nanyang Brothers, tobacco manufacturers, employing more than three thousand operators, are formidable competitors of the foreign tobacco companies. Chen Hua Company, paint manufacturers, and Hing Wah Paste Manufacturing Company, makers of Rooster Brand food products, are but two of the companies whose output travels to world ports.

American trade with China began as early as 1784. By 1864 it constituted 40 per cent of China's total tonnage and the United States was generally conceded predominance in the shipping business of China. The Civil War tolled the death knell for American supremacy on the seas. Internal problems, the opening up and development of our West, and just plain ignorance prevented the trade being resumed after the war. During the past fifty years, China's shipping trade increased from 7,000,000 to 105,000,000 tons. America's proportion of this trade had fallen by 1892 to one-fifth of 1 per cent of the whole. Then it began a gradual rise and by 1920 had reached 5 per cent of the total tonnage. More recently, conditions have brought American manufacturers to realize they must have a foreign trade, and they are now developing financing corporations as a factor for creating success in foreign fields. In 1867 the United States had 6½ per cent of China's total trade and in 1920, almost 20 per cent. American enterprise in China is handicapped however by the fact that while paying tax itself to Washington, it is forced to compete with the tax exempt companies of Europe. The American Chambers of Commerce are energetically backing the proposal for the incorporation of American firms in China free from home tax assessments.

Although three quarters of a million American-made

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spindles are now used in China, America has been slow to enter the Eastern field in cotton spinning. Possibly her best known representatives are the China Electric Company, a corporation formed jointly by the Ministry of Communications of the Chinese government and the Western Electric for telephone manufacture; the Amos Bird Company, Shanghai; and the China General Edison Company, a daughter company of the General Electric. British and American interests unite in the widely known British-American Tobacco Company, equipped to produce everything connected with cigarette manufacture from cutting the leaf to the most intricate machine used in production and sales.

In spite of our small part in Chinese industry, however, American methods are not without influence. As I shall show, the system of employment inaugurated by an American firm has been found most successful, and the Amos Bird Company (American) and the British American Tobacco Company (British-American) offer the best working conditions in their factories.

Later in this article I shall touch further on the responsibility of foreign investors and employers in which Americans must share.

THE basic human fact in Chinese economic life is that the laboring classes, urged on by the pressure of millions behind them struggling to exist on inadequate means, are forced to accept whatever conditions are offered. Typhoons, famines, drought, civil war, brigands, are a few of the yearly influences that increase the thousands willing to carry a heavy load several miles for a bowl of rice.

A foreman

A Chinese forewoman

Shortsighted management and foreign economic depression over which workers have no control, make employment uncertain. In May, 1922, every silk filature in Soochow closed down and turned off the operators because the managements, failing to foresee the demand for silk, neglected to provide sufficient cocoons. 1921 and 1922 were also hard on the workers; for home offices in America and Europe, to protect themselves during the post war depression, ordered production in their Chinese factories cut to the minimum. In view of the necessity of maintaining a steady labor supply in a district, employers are, however, making provision to hold men temporarily employed. Nanking, for example, has created the Poor Man's Workshop with a capital of thirty thousand dollars to give the idle work and retain them in Nanking until needed. A silk filature in Wusih has won broad fame for its yearly contribution to a mission to maintain a school, a creche, and a kindergarten in the factory compound. It stipulates that the mission must say nothing to arouse discontent among the workers. The mission invests considerably more than the five hundred dollars in equipment, time, and energy to the end that this factory may work its employes sixteen or seventeen hours a day if necessary or release them at will, with the assurance of getting them back when needed and, during rush seasons, drawing upon the workers of factories which offer no such educational advantages.

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EMPLOYMENT is usually given through contractors, Number One foremen, and department managers. Recently several factories have given employment to applicants who come with the recommendation or guarantee of some other employe.

Contract labor is supplied by the professional labor broker in the same manner that a contractor would supply coal, hides, or sand—so much labor for so long a period for such an amount. The foreign employer, realizing that without a knowledge of the language he cannot deal adequately with the individual employe, finds the contractor who can provide him with skilled and unskilled workers as needed, a great convenience.

The contractors go into the interior to bring back men, women, and children for the mills. They follow disaster as naturally as birds of prey to buy up labor. They then divide their new workers into groups, ranging in size from a hundred or two to two or three thousand, and supply them to the industrial cities of the Yangtse valley particularly, as needed.

Contract labor is perhaps not as extensive in Shanghai as in the industrial cities of the valley for the reason that Shanghai like Paris and New York, draws the fortune hunter and country boy from every province. Its workers are more sophisticated and self-reliant. But the Yangtse Valley corresponds to the Mississippi in richness of soil and opportunity and the men and women who farm a bit of ground there are not easily moved to leave the independence of their own thatched mud hut or house of mouldy tiles for the crowded compounds and confinement of the mills. The contractors in these cities find good markets for the laborers brought in from the famine and earthquake districts of north and western China.

Once in the hands of a contractor, the workers are practically his slaves. He pays their way to Wusih or wherever they are needed, establishes them in his own compound, and supplies their food. On the small wage they receive, they can never hope to repay their passage nor get very far away from him and his agents. One labor compound in the Jessfield district of Shanghai supplies operators to the Chinese and British cotton mills. During change of shifts, watching the workers crowding in and out, their hair and clothes covered with cotton fluff, their faces grey with weariness and grime, one cannot tell who are coming off and who, refreshed, are going on.

The contractor has unequaled opportunities for personal profit. Employes and employers are alike ignorant, and it is his happy task to keep them so. He gets them as it were, coming, going, and standing still. Each worker under him pays him a commission, in some cases as much as five cents a day. The factory pays him so much a head for the labor supplied. In addition, the wage which he pays the worker and the wage which he assures the management he pays the worker are two entirely different sums, and he skims the cream of the difference.

In his hands, the strike develops new possibilities and values. He can stir the workers to discontent and impress the management with the necessity to give a higher wage. If the management will not yield to pressure, he can call the workers out on strike, and during this time, does not pay them full wage. At the same time he can gather in a substantial bonus from the mill owner to bring about a peaceful settlement of the difficulties, and as this peaceful settlement is usually a higher wage, he attains a larger sum from which to harvest commissions, fines, etc., due him from the workers.

The contractor more than the system is responsible for other ills. Not least of these is the immorality resulting from crowding men and women promiscuously into a compound. The contractor retards the development of efficiency and initiative in the workers because it is not to his interest that round pegs find round holes. The foreigner unable to speak the language can only judge by results, and has no way of learning that the woman punching holes so clumsily can work expertly at a moulding machine. As the contractor is paid usually by the head, he has no interest in raising the average of the workers' skill or his resourcefulness.

At the end of two or three years, the worker is worth little more than when he entered the mill, and is handicapped physically by the years' confinement in enervating living and working conditions.

In comparison with the contract system, employment through the Number One foremen appears almost satisfactory. Yet in a small way this system can repeat all the evils of contract labor.

The method of offering employment to any worker backed by someone already in the employ of the factory was first introduced by an American firm and ridiculed by all the Old China Hands then operating. Instead of the failure prophesied, however, it has been so satisfactory that other industries are taking it up. This system goes a long way to break down the restraint on the workers' abilities which contractors and foremen exercise if low production is to their own interest, and helps remove discrimination by the various local and provincial prejudices at work in Chinese factories. The foreign manager O. K.'s each application and it is to him that the new operator feels responsible.

The barrier between management and operator eliminated, loyalty to the factory develops. The operator who secures employment for a friend feels a personal pride and interest in the place that recognizes his judgment, and the friend is doubly encouraged to effort not only because he cannot let his guarantor lose face through his poor work, but because he cannot neglect this golden opportunity to bring in all the members of his own family as employes. This system has its loopholes. Yet in the factories where contract labor exists, three Chinese operators are considered necessary to equal the output of one European or American, whereas in factories offering employment to all guaranteed applicants, the Chinese worker is considered capable of equaling western standards of individual efficiency.

THE number of hours and shifts a factory runs in China, depends upon the demand for its product. In general a working day of fourteen, sixteen, or even longer hours, is not unusual. The average is about twelve. These hours are often increased by the necessity for long trips between home and factory. The mills with the twelve hour day usually run two shifts. For some reason they do not all run the same shift hours, from six to six, for example. Nights in Shanghai are continuously shattered from three until seven in the morning, by the factory whistles calling workers.

Chinese mills running one shift a day are the extremists on hours. They will run from twelve to seventeen hours,

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or shut down as irregularly if the demand drops away. The majority of foreign factories prefer the ten or twelve hour day. The cotton mills run day and night from Chinese New Year to Chinese New Year.

With the exception of a few foreign companies, the mills operate seven days a week. Some Chinese mills offer a half holiday with pay as a bonus for two weeks continuous attendance. Other mills have arranged for operators to work thirteen days and rest the fourteenth. Under these plans, the mill does not shut down.

Practically every factory has overtime work. Some have regular rush seasons about twelve times a year and require the operators to remain seventeen hours a day at their machines. Others have what they call overtime every Saturday night when the day shift and night shift alternate for the following week. A match factory sets out a definite amount of work for each day's accomplishment. Some times the work can be completed in twelve hours or by six o'clock. Sometimes the matchmakers must remain until ten at night. The endurance of the operators is the only restraint upon the number of overtime hours imposed. One zealous foreman, crestfallen at what loomed as his failure to get a large order out on time, worked his staff twenty-six hours with only two short interludes for hastily eaten lunches.

The possibility of an eight hour day is frequently mentioned, though as yet that is as far as the idea has gone with the Chinese mills. One American foundry has tried it out successfully. The result within a few months showed between 10 and 15 per cent greater output for the same amount of money invested and workmanship equal to any done in America. The men themselves opposed the short hours at first believing that on piece-work rates they could not make enough, but now they are accomplishing as much in forty-four hours as they did before in a seven-day week of long hours.

The Chinese employers and employes together will have to work out the amount of leisure, recreation, home life and study, the Chinese laborers want and need. The principles of scientific management in force in many western factories cannot cope with the oriental mind and condition.

It is true, however, that the long hours now in force are responsible for the lack of ambition and initiative characteristic of the average worker. Operators who tried to work at top speed for twelve or fourteen hours every day would kill themselves. In self-protection the operator must make the minimum effort permissible, and this is estimated to average between five and seven hours of a working day. This idleness and monotony in turn destroy ambition, and before long the operator is content to follow the others, earning a moderate wage for a moderate production.

It is equally true that the old leisure system of handicraft manufacture developed laborers of steady nerves and unusual ability to relax. The men and women gathered in homes and while working easily took time to chat and doze, to watch the passersby, and dream of Mandarin fish and ancient eggs.

Under the handicraft system, the overhead expense was small, the equipment hand-made and easily replaced. Employers could afford to be lenient. But the cost of importing and setting up western machines, of constructing modern factories to house them and training operators to run them, is so tremendous that modern industry in China feels it can no longer afford to maintain a leisure class of workers and is gradually speeding them up.

Chinese coolies whose labor is "cheaper than that of mules'

The result is that the working life of the Chinese worker in the mills is generously estimated to be between two and eight years. He cannot survive working under western methods for twelve and fourteen hours a day.

This then is the problem that remains to be solved. Shall western industry with its machinery, scientific methods and management, and its eight hour day; or western industry, Chinese methods, a twelve hour day; or a compromise between the two, be set as the goal for the best working day for the Chinese operator?

FOR several reasons wages in Chinese mills are paid at piece work rates, only foremen and supervisors receiving a regular salary each month. On time work the Chinese feels he is working for his employer, on piece work for himself, and that consequently it is to his interest to keep his shrinkage as low as possible.

The average skilled male worker receives about forty cents a day. Women are cheaper than men and are employed whenever possible. Since in few instances men and women perform the same work, it is difficult to compare their earnings, but in general it may be said that a woman averages ten cents a day less than a man. In the cotton mills, girls start at fifteen cents a day, or time work rates until they learn the processes. Then they are placed on piece work rates with the possibility of earning a dollar a day. Ten dollars a month, however, is a good average. Men start at twenty-five cents a day and when skilled average twenty-two dollars a month. (*Continued on page* 55)

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The Mind of the Anthracite Miners

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

A MAN of wide business experience, in discussing the work before the United States Coal Commission in the autumn of 1922, expressed the opinion that the paramount problem before that fact-finding body was to "get at the mind of the miners." He had made a distinguished record as director of one of the great Administrations set up by the federal government during the war. In the years following the Armistice, he had repeatedly been summoned to Europe to act as arbiter in the adjustment of international disputes over the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. As intermediary between nations at odds, he had found that even more important than the statistical determination of economic facts was the appraisal of the states of mind, the customs, traditions, prejudices, punctilios, which determine the attitude of the disputants toward these facts and toward one another. Facts have no practical force apart from the minds that apprehend them.

His point of view was that of James Bryce in the American Commonwealth where he says that "governments have always rested and must rest, if not on the affection, then on the reverence or awe, if not on the active approval, then on the silent acquiescence, of the numerical majority; . . . where the humbler classes have differed in opinion from the higher, they have often been proved by the event to have been right and their so-called betters wrong." He felt that the logic of these observations applied to any attempt on the part of those of us who belong to the general public to understand the forces involved in such disputes as that which has brought about the present anthracite strike. It does not, of course, follow that the miners, because they have a numerical majority, are necessarily right and the operators wrong on the specific economic questions at issue. The point is that the general public can make no effective contribution to a permanent solution of these questions without taking account of the feelings, attitudes, convictions—the mind of 158,000 men who must work and live under the terms of whatever settlement marks the end of the present dispute.

The attempt to define the mental attitudes of men is always hazardous. The elements which go to the making of the mind even of a homogeneous group are infinitely varied, vague and intangible. The term *anthracite miners* represents a composite of men of many nationalities, inheritors of the most diverse folk-traditions, opinions and beliefs. That is also true of Americans as a whole. Yet such terms as American public opinion and the American mind are felt to have a very definite significance not only as distinguished from European opinion, with respect to international affairs, but also as expressing a majority sentiment respecting such domestic questions as the tariff, public and private ownership, capital punishment and the like. To attempt to "get at the mind of the miners" with respect to the whole range of their public and private interests would be more than a life's work. But with respect to the leading issues in their recurrent disputes with the operators and more especially those that come to the forefront of public consideration, the undertaking is comparatively simple.

THE most salient fact with respect to the mind of the anthracite miners which today strikes any observer who has been in reasonably close contact with them over a period of years, is the fundamental change that has come over their attitude toward the operators. Up to the end of the war, roughly up to 1920, their general attitude toward their employers was one of latent hostility and grievance, what one of their leaders described as a cross between the attitude of a rebel and that of the underdog. I do not mean to suggest that there were not many instances of happy relationships between the miners and their employers in the days before 1920; there were many of these. But it is a matter of record that up to 1902, the date of President Roosevelt's intervention, many miners were in a state of active or suppressed warfare with the operators; that during the eighteen years of peace that with a few interruptions followed the settlement of the Roosevelt Commission, the miners were generally ready at the slightest provocation to join in the hue and cry against the anthracite operators and their allies, the owners of the anthracite railroads, as a species of feudal barons who were defiant of the public interest, grinders of the faces of the poor, preoccupied solely with their own enrichment at the expense of the miners and the consumers. Probably no group of business men in America has suffered so much from the unguarded eloquence of one of their number as have the anthracite operators from that famous pronouncement of George F. Baer of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal Company when, in 1902, warning President Roosevelt and others to keep their hands off, he said that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for . . . by the Christian men to whom God has given control of the property interests of the country." In their current publicity, the operators complain that their case at the bar of public opinion is perpetually prejudiced by the "almost impenetrable fog of distrust and suspicion, based on past events, which have little bearing on present day conditions."

For many years the miners took advantage of this public hostility to play up the tragedies of their lot, the alleged brutalities of company guards and deputy sheriffs, the needless loss of lives in the mines which they charged to the deliberate neglect of the operators. Even today one can rarely spend ten minutes with the "old timers" without being regaled with stories, half true, half legendary, of that early time, stories in which the operators and their gunmen figure as the heartless aggressors and the miners the innocent defenders of their civic rights, their altars and their homes. Only the other day one of these grizzled veterans was telling me of a morning when he and his comrades scattered themselves along the brush-covered hillside to resist the advance of a band of company guards. "Some twenty of our innocent men fell that day," he said. "We were unarmed and defenceless. We decided to seek justice in the courts.

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Would you believe it, when we got there, they turned things round and tried to indict me for murder? They said that I had cut off the ears of a company Hessian. A damned lie! If I damaged his face it wasn't with a knife, but with rocks." Such anecdotes must, of course, be taken with a grain of salt. But they indicate the general atmosphere which for many years surrounded the relations between the men and employers in the anthracite field.

Today that attitude has all but completely disappeared. The miners have no further use for what they call "sob-stuff." I have spent many hours with the younger union executives discussing the problems of the mines without ever hearing so much as a single invidious epithet applied to the operators. Of men like Samuel D. Warriner, President of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, who for many years handled the operators' negotiations with the representatives of the miners, they invariably speak with friendliness and respect. I do not mean to sentimentalize the present state of mind of the responsible leaders toward the employers. Some of the old feeling survives. But at worst, it is latent. The old attitude of grievance has given way to the dignified attitude of partners in a business enterprise toward one another.

WHAT has brought about this significant change? Many things, of course. But two things especially; the development of group solidartity, resulting in 1920 in the explicit recognition of their union, the United Mine Workers of America, as party to the collective agreement; and the attainment of something more than a bare subsistence wage by all of the men, of a saving wage by many, with the resulting accumulation of a surplus by the group as a whole, which has produced a new sense of economic freedom, independence and power.

During the period from 1902 to 1920, the mind of the miners was dominated by two main issues—the struggle for full union recognition, and the struggle for a living wage. The miners were among the pioneers in the trade union movement in America. Unions made their first appearance in the anthracite fields as early as 1848. The Knights of Labor led a losing strike there as early as 1878. As early as the following year, the United Mine Workers of America, which had begun to establish itself in the bituminous field, sent organizers into the anthracite country. By 1900 they felt sufficiently strong to venture a strike for union recognition and the improvement of their working conditions. In spite of the fact that they had then enrolled not more than eight thousand dues-paying members, more than one hundred thousand left the mines when the strike order was issued. The gains of that year emboldened them to make a further attempt to win recognition and a collective agreement in 1902. The strike of that year lasted from May 12 to October 23 and was only then brought to an end, as everyone knows, by the energetic intervention of President Roosevelt. But the members of the Roosevelt Commission, though they spoke in favor of collective bargaining between employers and unions, held that the question of union recognition was outside their jurisdiction. When the award of this commission was renewed in 1906, the operators again declined to deal with the union as such, and insisted that the union representatives must sign the agreement as individuals only. In 1909 the union representatives signed "on behalf of the representatives of the anthracite mine workers"; in 1912, "on behalf of the anthracite mine workers organization," although no such organization existed apart from the national organization, the United Mine Workers of America. It was not until 1920, under the award of the commission appointed by President Wilson, that the operators finally consented to recognize the union in explicit terms.

Through all these years the union was not only held responsible for the execution of the contract, a difficult matter in a field where individual bargaining and the padrone system had long held sway—but was also charged with half the cost of the Board of Conciliation, which the Roosevelt Commission set up to arbitrate grievances and to enforce the terms of their award. How deeply this resistance of the operators to the recognition of the union, with which in fact they were dealing, entered into the general attitude of grievance and hostility to which I have referred, was expressed by one of the miners' representatives during the sessions of the 1920 commission. Instead of following the suggestion of the Roosevelt Commission, he said, "the operators twisted it as an argument against us. They have done everything possible to make the union unattractive and then ask us why is the union not more attractive to the workers. They have held the union responsible for all contracts and yet will not concede that the union is of any advantage to the workers. For 18 years, under these unfair and almost intolerable conditions, at great financial loss, we have maintained industrial peace and continuity of production."

Since 1920 when the United Mine Workers was recognized by name as a party to the agreement, this attitude of resentment has abated and steadily yielded to the attitude of men who are dealing with their business equals.

THE demand for the "check-off," which enters so largely into the newspaper discussion of the present and earlier disputes, is a vestigial hangover of this long struggle for union recognition.

The union asks for the check-off, it maintains, not as a right, but as an evidence of the spirit of cooperation which is essential to the effective execution of a collective agreement.

Half the costs of this execution are borne by the union. Not only all the operators but all the men in the field are its beneficiaries. All men should therefore contribute to its support. The check-off, if adopted, would mean that the anthracite operators, like the bituminous operators in the organized fields, would deduct union dues from the miners pay envelopes and turn them over to the union treasurer. The union points out that the check-off is common practice with the operators themselves, that before paying men their wages they deduct amounts due for rent, powder, tools and other supplies which they sell to the miners, and that the check-off of union dues would add but a single item to a bookkeeping system already in existence. The cost to the operators, the union contends, would be slight whereas the collection of dues by its officers involves an annual expenditure of something like $150,000.

The operators point out that while in two of the three districts into which the anthracite miners are organized, practically all of the men belong to the union, in the third and largest district, where approximately 56 per cent of all the anthracite workers live, hardly more than half are registered dues-paying members and that to apply the check-

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off to them would be to subject them to undue coercion.

I am not here entering into the merits of either contention. I simply refer to the matter because the dispute over this issue does keep alive in the minds of the great majority of the men a vestige of the old belligerent attitude and interferes, I believe, with the development of a full and free spirit of cooperation. Nevertheless the fact that the union has in all other respects been fully recognized has had a deep and wholesome psychological effect.

IT seems notable that the year in which the miners achieved official recognition also marked the end of the "right to a living wage" as their leading economic demand. While from the beginning of the industry's history, a considerable minority of men earned "good money," the miners always contended that up to 1920 and even to 1923, the general average wage was not a living wage according to American standards of health and decency. For this reason they based their public appeal on the "right to a living wage." After 1920, however, they abandoned this slogan. Today one frequently hears them say, "Even a mule gets a living wage without kicking." While the first of their demands before the Commission of 1920 was for a living wage, it was then that for the first time they retained expert economists and statisticians to prepare exhibits on the profits of the anthracite operators; operating and financial performance of the anthracite railroads; the relations between wages and production, costs, prices and profits in the anthracite mining industry. These exhibits were excluded by the chairman as dealing with matters outside the commission's jurisdiction. The chairman took the ground that the commission of 1920 was solely concerned with the question as to whether the miners were as a matter of fact receiving a living wage.

Nevertheless, these exhibits are highly significant as marking the first instance of record in which the miners turned from the consideration of those questions which were traditionally assumed to be their exclusive province—hours, wages and working conditions—to matters which had traditionally been regarded as beyond the scope of their proper concern and exclusively within the province of the owners of the business. This innovation they followed up when in 1922 they presented to the United States Coal Commission an elaborate technical analysis of anthracite accounting and finance, which, while principally the work of professional economists and accountants, as is usually the case with such documents (whether submitted by unions or employers) was nevertheless prepared under the direct supervision of the miners' representatives and checked by their detailed first-hand knowledge. The steps in the emergence of their present attitude toward the business of management of the industry might be summarized as follows:

1. The right to work at all
2. The right to a living wage
3. The right to a saving wage
4. The right to share in the profits of the industry as a whole on a parity with the investors of capital.

One of the younger leaders put the matter about like this: Under a living wage, the position of the miners would be similar to that of an operator who is merely "breaking even" on his operations. The miners' investment of their lives in the business—between five and six hundred are killed each year, and some 20,000 injured— is at least equivalent to the operator's investment of his time and capital. Just as the operator is fairly entitled to a margin of profit above an "even break," so the miners are entitled to a margin above a living wage, assuming that the industry as a whole is in a position to pay dividends. While they contend that thousands of men in the anthracite field are even today receiving an annual wage of less than $1,400 (which they hold is below a reasonable American standard of decent living) they do freely admit that the average wage of all the anthracite mine workers has reached the living wage level and that a considerable number receive a saving wage. Their demand for an additional increase of 10 per cent is based not only on the contention that all men in the industry are entitled to a full living wage, but also upon the businesslike contention that as partners in the enterprise they are entitled to a share in the profits beyond a reasonable return for administrative services and on capital investment to the operators.

I am not here expressing a personal opinion for or against this attitude. I am simply trying to interpret with the utmost possible accuracy the attitude of representative men whose views may fairly be taken as reflecting the more or less inarticulate mind of the anthracite miners as a group.

WITHIN recent years there has also been a striking change in the miners attitude toward arbitration and more especially toward federal intervention.

In general they hold that the demand for arbitration by a group headed by an "impartial outsider" is a sign of weakness; that the party making this demand always calculates that it will gain more by arbitration than the strength of its position would ordinarily entitle it to. It was their weakness, they say, not their strength, that made them clamor for arbitration in 1902. Their estate was then at so low an ebb that they had much to gain and nothing to lose by arbitration.

Today they feel that this situation is reversed. They believe that prevailing opinion among those not intimately familiar with the details of the anthracite business—an opinion which they believe would prevail with any "impartial outsider"—is to the effect that workers should be content with a living wage. They also believe that if they submitted to outside arbitration their present wages would be brought into comparison, unjustly they contend, with the wages of unskilled or semi-skilled men in unorganized or weakly organized industries like steel and textiles. They also believe that an "impartial outsider" would be disposed to give undue consideration to the predicament of the less efficient and high-cost mines. In one of the documents which they presented to the United States Coal Commission they raise this question:

> Is the business of mining, transporting and distributing anthracite doomed always to be so organized that a few high-cost land lessors or real-estate speculators, a few high-cost collieries, a few railroads which choose to spend their incomes on vindictive labor wars, and a few high-cost distributors scattered over the country, can always create a situation in which the great bulk of the low-cost operators, land owners, transportors and distributors will always be tempted to advance their profits at the expense of everybody else interested in the industry?

In other words they feel that wages have always tended to be fixed by the ability to pay, not of the most efficient and lowest-cost mines, not by that of the industry as a

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whole, but by the least efficient and highest-cost mines. They realize that there are some mines that are running at a very narrow margin of profit; but in view of the fact that vast reserves of anthracite are being held out of production, they feel it unjust that the standard of living of 158,000 men should be depressed in order to maintain the profits of a few high-cost mines.

This opposition to arbitration was firmly established by their experience with the anthracite commission appointed by President Wilson in 1920. In that arbitration the miners contended that the increase in the cost of living since their last agreement had been approximately 27 per cent and they therefore asked for a corresponding increase in wages. They were given to understand that the commission would base its award upon the cost of living principles. The operators contested the accuracy of the miners' analysis of the increase in the cost of living in the anthracite field. Thereupon the chairman of the commission appointed a special representative, Professor Hammond of the University of Ohio, a recognized expert in the subject, to make an independent investigation by the results of which it was implied his judgment would be guided. Professor Hammond's findings were almost identical with those upon which the miners based their case. Up to midnight of the day before the majority opinion of the commission was handed down, the miners believed that, as the result of the expert's findings, their request for a 27 per cent increase would be granted. Next morning, however, the chairman of the commission joined with the operators' representatives in fixing the increase at 17 per cent. This award was followed by a rank and file strike of protest. The miners believed that the decision had been based neither on the living wage principle nor on the ability of the industry as a whole to pay, but upon the predicament of the owners of the highest-cost mines.

This experience of 1920 conditions the miners attitude today. They have admitted that the present average wage of the mine workers is at a living wage level; and they have no confidence that their new contention—and conviction—that they are entitled to a share of the profits of the industry as a whole above the cost of living, a saving wage and one that would adequately compensate them for the hazards of their occupation—would prevail with the "impartial outsider." They hold that the public, whether through a governmental agency or through representation on a voluntarily created board of arbitration, is no more entitled to fix their wages than it is to fix the price of coal at the mine or in the consumer's bin, or to fix the profits of the operators so long as the anthracite business is conducted as a purely private enterprise. They refer to the report of the United States Coal Commission, which as a fact-finding body, declared that the

> fundamental fact in the anthracite coal problem is that heretofore these limited and exhaustible deposits have been in the absolute private possession of their legal owners, to be developed or withheld at will, to be leased at such royalties as could be exacted, to be transported and distributed at such rates and in such manner as a double-headed railroad and coal combination might find most advantageous from the point of view of private profit, to be sold at such prices as could be maintained by the restriction of output and the elimination of independent competitors, through such means as the maintenance of freight rates burdensome except to those who, owning both mines and railroads, could afford to be indifferent as to whether their revenue came from the one source or the other.

Under all these circumstances they contend that until the public is ready to nationalize the industry—officially the miners' union went on record in favor of the nationalization of coal in 1919—they should be free to settle their differences with the operators by an untrammeled bargain, as businessmen dealing with businessmen.

In a word, the mind of the anthracite miners today is in all essential respects the typically American business mind. Their psychology is not that of proletarians but that of businessmen like the operators themselves.

IF the present disputes in the anthracite fields involved an ordinary commodity, one that was not vital to the comfort and health of millions of consumers, no serious objection could validly be taken to the position that the miners and operators are entitled to settle their own business disputes in their own way. The public would probably continue the attitude of calm indifference which has prevailed during the weeks of warm weather since the strike began.

But in spite of the talk in some quarters to the effect that the public need not freeze whatever the course of the strike, that abundant substitutes are available, that consumers will be able to turn to non-volatile bituminous coal, to coke or oil in an emergency, failure of the winter's supply of anthracite would result in suffering amounting to a national disaster. Even if substitutes were readily available most anthracite consuming households are not equipped to use them. The use of bituminous coal in furnaces built for anthracite is not only highly inconvenient but except in skilled hands likely to be dangerous. The installation of efficient equipment for the domestic use of oil is not only beyond the financial ability of the majority of anthracite consumers but is not a matter that can be attended to in a hurry. The fact is that for millions of consumers today anthracite is an indispensable commodity, a condition not only of comfort but of health. It is for this reason that the United States Coal Commission urged that anthracite industry should somehow be given the status of a public utility subject to regulation by a public service commission.

Curiously enough, the miners while recognizing the vital interest of the public in anthracite, are opposed to this suggestion. They believe that the workers are generally at a disadvantage in commission regulated industries and that such commissions tend more to safeguard the interests of the utility companies than the interests of the public. They have been confirmed in this attitude by their observation of the Railway Labor Board. The attitude of at least a very considerable minority—and indeed, if one may judge by the repeated vote of their delegates to the national convention of their union, of a majority of the miners—is that the interests of neither workers nor of the public can ever be adequately safeguarded short of full public ownership and democratic operation of the mines. But there is probably not a man among them who looks upon nationalization as a policy that will be adopted by the American people within any readily calculable future. In the meantime, in lieu of regulation, they have consistently advocated not only a permanent fact-finding agency for the guidance of public opinion, but also the taking over by the government of a number of typical mines for the purpose of ascertaining the efficient costs of production and of distribution. They have great confidence in the ultimate effect of the widest possible dissemination of the authentic and authoritatively determined facts.

(*Continued on page* 51)

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HESTER STREET

Portraits of Plain People

By GEORGE B. LUKS

ROBUST old women, selling papers, shoveling snow, peddling matches for a livelihood, tending street stalls, and brewing and baking in the kitchen—these and other vigorous American types tempt the brush of this painter. He attacks them with gusto, as they attack life in the battle for daily bread. Not the softness and frailty of old age, or the delicacy of youth, but the strength and vigor of youth and age, these are the qualities that appeal to Mr. Luks, who for the last ten years has been carrying off honors in the exhibitions, not only for superb painting but for a gift of interpretation excelled by few painters. He has been compared to Franz Hals and to Rubens; critics have said that he is comparable to the flamboyant in architecture, and to Swift and Sterne in English literature. Like them he is not concerned with small standards of good taste, or "art for art's sake." He strikes splendidly at the truth of human life, careless of foibles and prettinesses. Student days at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the academy at Dusseldorf probably gave him his ground work: out of the dynamo of his own soul his style and his passion for robust expression have come. Born in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, he takes his place as a foremost painter, and to modify a phrase from an eminent critic, his pictures are an overflowing of the fullness of the life of his own times.

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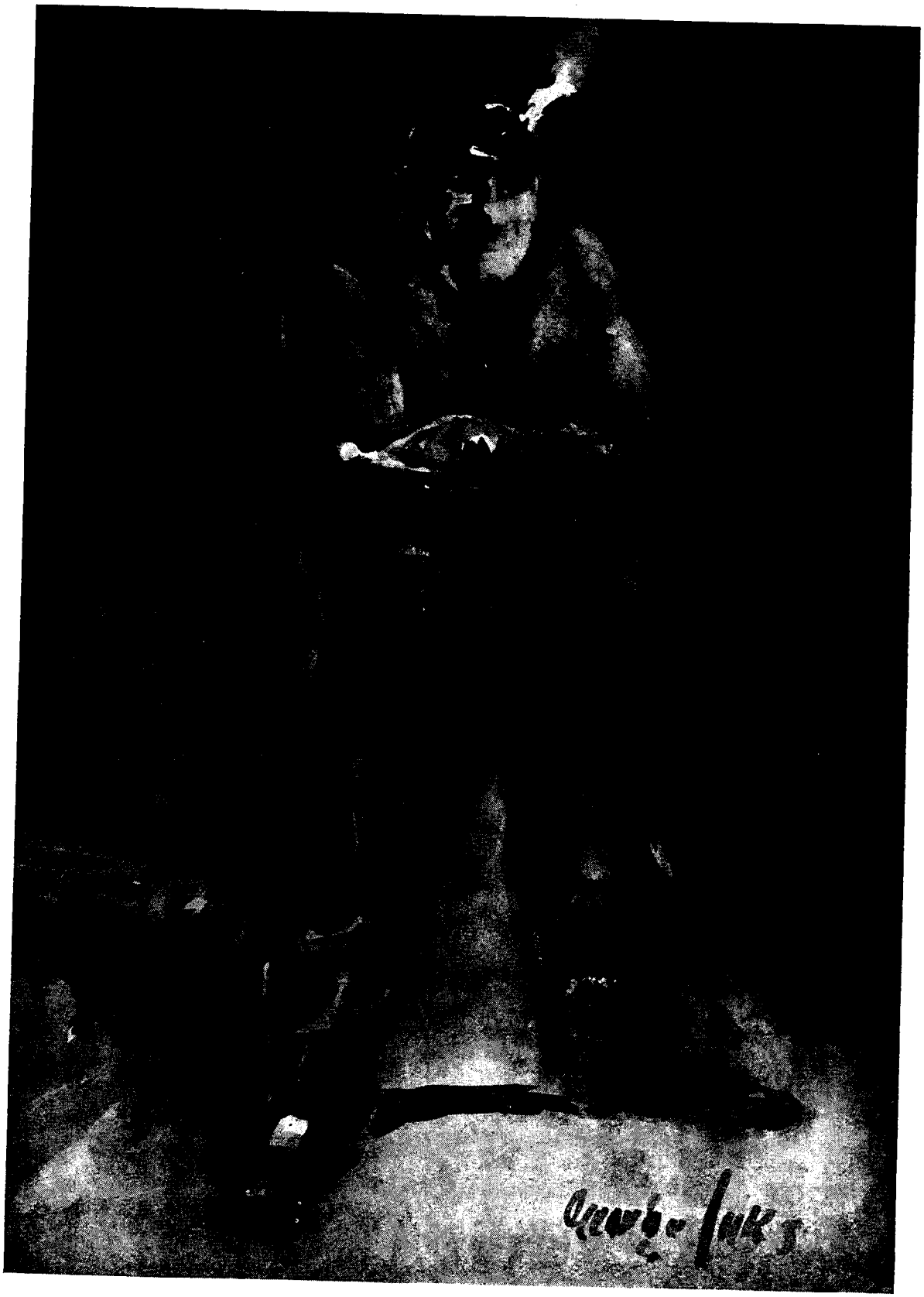

THE MINER

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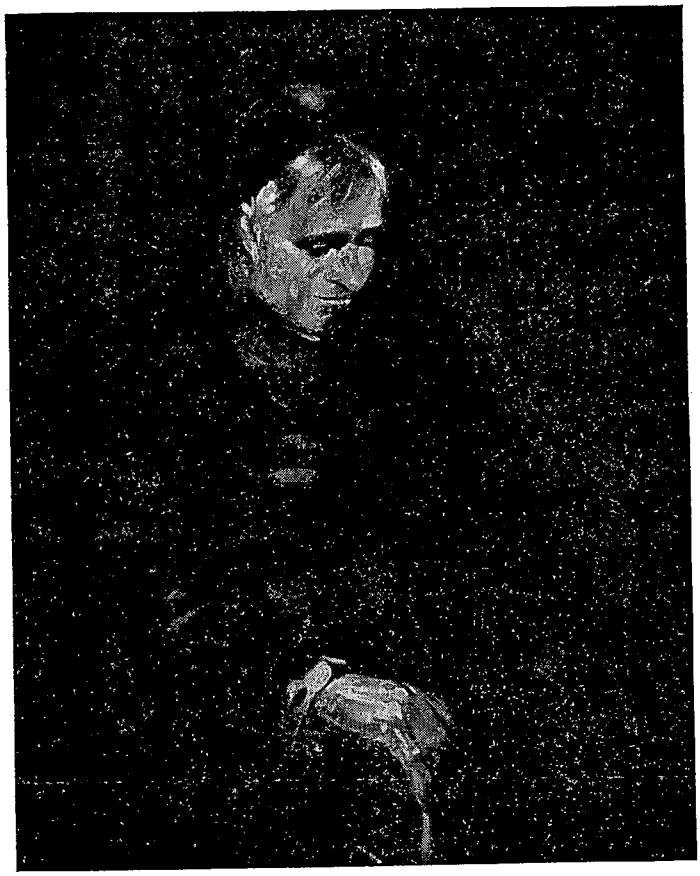

MATCHES MARY

THE KITCHEN

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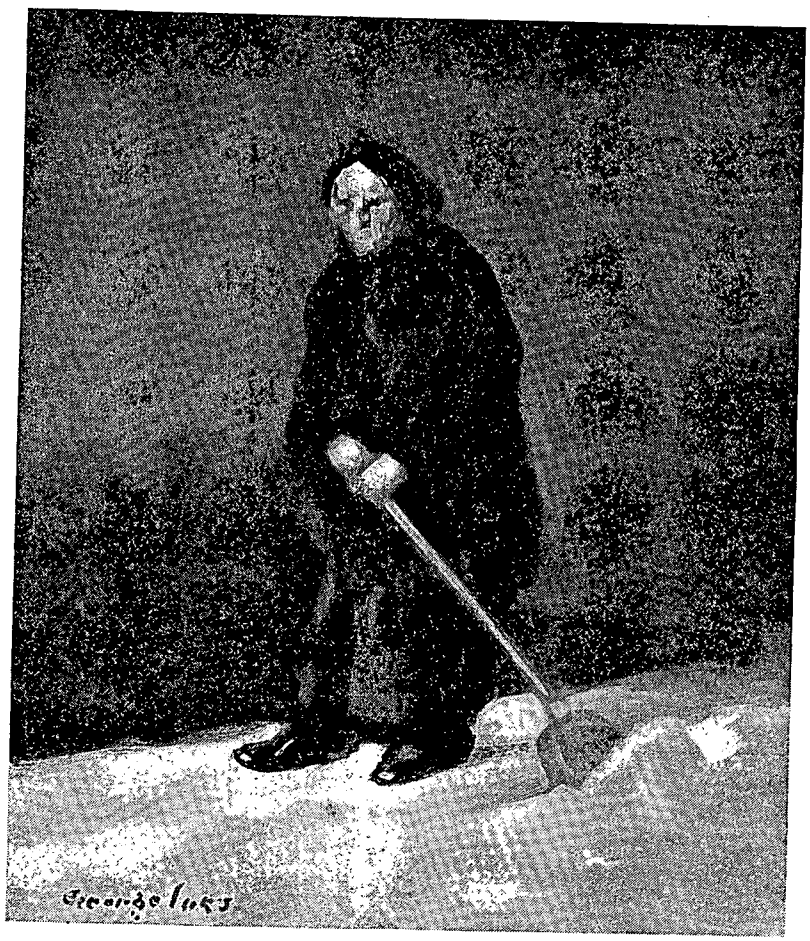
THE BEAR HUNTER



THE SNOW SWEEPER

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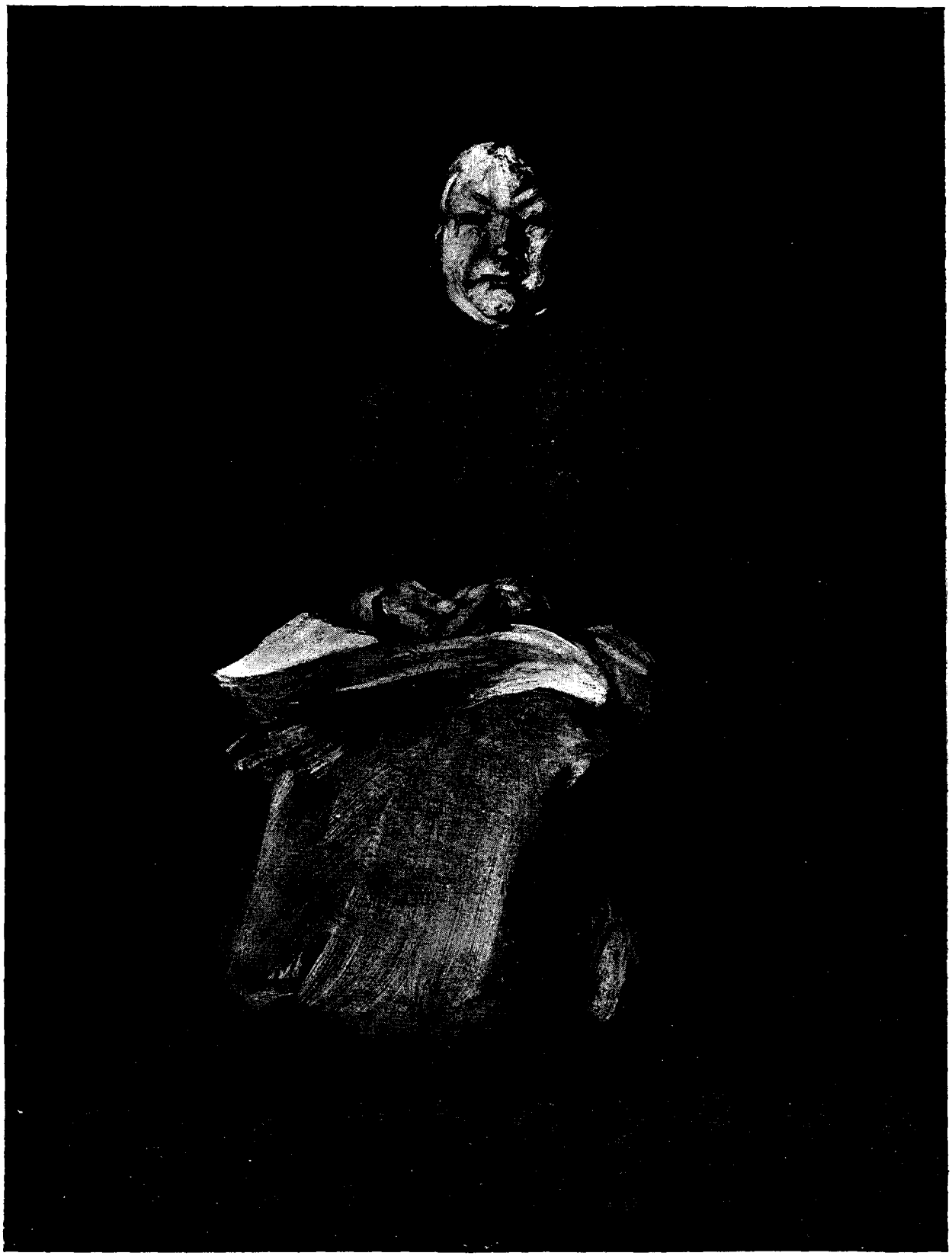

THE NEWS VENDER

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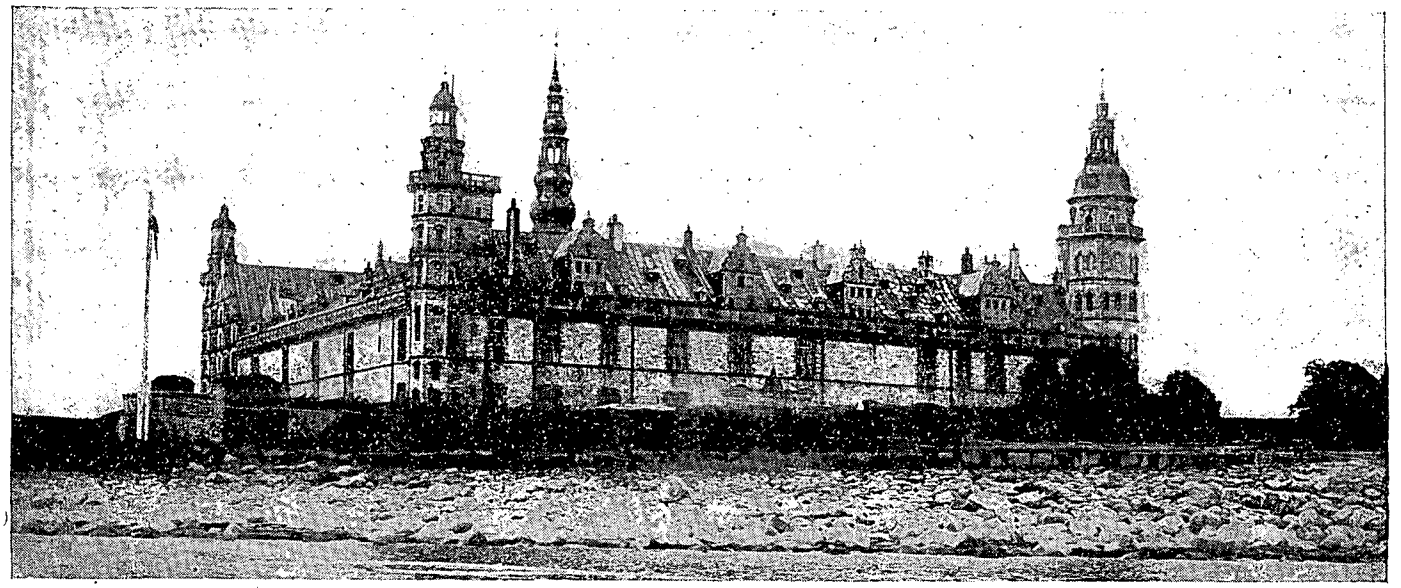

Courtesy of the American Scandinavian Foundation

Kronborg castle has the peace of historic age

Will Denmark Disarm?

By JOSEPH K. HART

Will Denmark be the first of modern states to pin its faith on something other than force? What is it the Dane's are proposing? How far have they gone? How deep does the impulse run in the lives and thinking of the rank and file of the people of this remarkable northland? This article presents the answers Professor Hart found in an intensive study of the disarmament situation in Denmark.

THE Danish Parliament will meet this month. In the Christiansborg Palace, built as a residence for the king, but so grim and overpowering that the king refuses to live in it, conflicting groups will gather, and among the questions which confront them the issue of disarmament, defeated at the last sitting, will again be joined.

At the opening session, some leader of the Opposition will rise and cry out "Long live Denmark!" and some who sit there will probably hear the echoes of old sabre rattlings and the rain of bullets on the walls of forts. They may dream great dreams of the days of '48, when Denmark wrote her name in blood on the pages of history.

But the whip of the governmental forces will answer, "Long live the laws and the constitution." Whereupon, most will remember at what cost the liberties of democratic Denmark have been won, and they will be inclined to consider at what price those liberties can be conserved and built upon. And in that mood, they will fight for a decrease of the moneys spent for wars, even to the complete ending of all such expenditures; with a corresponding increase in the moneys to be spent in promoting internal enlightenment and external understandings of the most inclusive sort. In Denmark, the issues are fully presented and inclusively drawn. And because world-wide forces play through every corner of the globe, the outcome of the struggle in the Christiansborg Palace will be less a local victory for the one side or the other, than an index of the relative strengths in the world today of the parties at issue in the case.

Last spring, news dispatches from Copenhagen gave color to the impression that Denmark had about decided to go out of the war business altogether. Her navy, so we were told, was to be dismantled; her army disbanded save for a few incidental forces which were to be maintained for police and coast guard duties and for show on ceremonial occasions. According to these reports the Labor and Socialist leaders now forming the government had decided that Denmark could not hope to maintain herself long against any of the world's great military powers; and that the nation's real safety lay, therefore, in the good-will or mutual restraint of her neighbors. They were proposing for these reasons to save most of the money that was being spent annually on armaments and battleships and to devote those sums to the building up of a new and less tangible scheme of defense—the cultivation of the spirit and the arts of internal and international peace. So the stories ran.

Desire and duty conspired happily together to take me last summer to Denmark, where I spent some time absorbing, insofar as I was able, the humane spirit of Danish social life and studying some of the fundamental expressions of Danish civilization, especially the Folk Highschools and the world-famous cooperative organizations. But even before I set foot on Danish soil, I was precipitated into this question of disarmament and made aware of some of the emotions that surround it.

Our ship was to dock on a June morning after a night

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so short that it seemed scarcely worth while for the sun to go down and then immediately to come up again. I arose early, that is to say at 2:30, in order to see the great castle at Elsinore, the ancient Kronborg, (where, one may believe on the authority of Shakespeare, the spirit of Hamlet once brooded the troubled night and where the alleged grave of the tragic prince may still be seen). At Elsinore the Kattegat is not more than two miles wide, and the Kronborg, as it lifts its now innocuous battlements against Sweden, just over the way, tells tales of the days when all the North was a vast fortress and the kings of Denmark, like all other northern monarchs, were men of war.

Several hours later we sailed into the harbor of Copenhagen. As I watched its beautiful towers emerge one after another out of the morning mists, I chanced to notice some gun boats riding at anchor in a small basin.

"Those boats look like the remnants of a lost cause," I said to a young Dane standing near, a business man with connections in England, who was coming home for his vacation. He smiled somewhat sadly at my rather tactless remark and replied:

"Yes, I'm afraid that's about all that's left of the Danish navy. And I suppose by the time the present government gets through with its foolishness, even these tag ends will be gone."

The guard patrol in Copenhagen

FOR eight hundred years men have been struggling to convert two or three small islands in the fens and the adjacent shore of Zealand into a great center of human activities and interests. That is Copenhagen. The evidences of these eight centuries are all about—in castles, palaces, churches, museums, galleries, libraries, schools and universities; in the winding streets with their ancient names; and in the harbor, itself. This many storied past called insistently for a share in my interests. But I had not come to see the ancient city. I had come to see the city and nation of today, to study the problems of the moment, to watch the storied spectacle of the living present unfold. In the end I had to permit a compromise. I was to go ahead on the lines of my main interests, but on the condition that whenever a question arose that called for historical explication, I must find my way back through the city's winding passages to the place and the time where the roots of the matter could be uncovered. It was an admirable arrangement all around; and it proved especially happy in following through to its sources the story of Danish disarmament.

With the help of the American ambassador, John D. Prince, I had access to the offices, studies and homes of politicians, statesmen, governmental officials, members of parliament, both of the present and of days long past; business men; professional men of many sorts, including lawyers, teachers, ministers; members of various political parties and governmental groups; workingmen; and out in the country, representative farmers and other leaders of the rural life.

The rumors and reports that reached America last spring grew out of certain parliamentary developments which promised more than they were able to fulfill. They had, that is, some foundation in fact, though taken entire they were misleading. The government which came into power in April, 1924, had promised much in its pre-election campaign, and presumably, it had seriously intended to carry through its pledges. It failed in its first attempts at legislation by reason of conditions over which it had no control. But it came so near to success as to give a sort of basis for the reports that were so generally sent out. The story is complicated; it has many far-reaching implications; and it throws much light on the play of opinion and of political forces not only in Denmark, but throughout all the nations and governments of Europe today.

And to get the clue to it, I had to drop back not to the days of the Kronborg, but to the forces at play in the Copenhagen of the middle of the last century. In those decades, Denmark fought two wars with Germany. In the first (that of 1848-50) she was victorious, and her victory developed great pride in her military prowess. It was the sort of pride that "goeth before a fall." A second war followed in 1864. The tables were turned. Denmark was overwhelmingly defeated and lost, by way of reprisal, her two southern provinces, Schleswig and Holstein. This was an unexpected blow. It gave a temporary quietus to the military pretensions of the little nation. But it had its compensations: it stirred the Danes to a renewed activity in behalf of their country at home; it set going the beginnings of an intellectual and moral revival among the people. For example, out of this revival, or as an integral factor in it, came the great Folk Highschool movement

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which has played such an important role in the economic and political life of the nation these last sixty years.

But the defeat of 1864 did not completely cure Denmark of her military ambitions. The real cure came in 1870. That was the year of the Franco-Prussian war. With the outbreak of that war, Denmark felt that her revenge was at hand. She was prepared to become the ally of France, hoping that in the certain defeat of Prussia, her own prestige would be restored and her lost provinces would be returned. Negotiations looking to these ends were in the air; but before anything definite could be done, the six weeks' wonder was over. France was overwhelmingly defeated—France, the most puissant fighting arm in the world!

The effect of this defeat of France was both crushing and salutary to the Danes. Their narrower nationalistic hopes were dashed, this time seemingly beyond recovery. Their lost provinces were gone for good. But, more than these things, they faced the cold, hard fact that the day of the "little but mighty" military nation had passed. Prussia, under Bismarck, had brought new methods into warfare. If the great France could not stand up against this new type of offensive, what chance had a little people like Denmark?

There is a streak of genuine realism in the Danish mind. This is to be seen, for example, in their methods of dealing with their agricultural problems and in the organization of their economic life. But realism and what we may call "military idealism" do not always get on well together. From 1870 to 1901, a bitter contest was waged between parties representing these two attitudes. In one group were to be found the progressive forces of the nation, who were making their strength felt in the Folketing, or "House of Commons." In the other were to be counted the king, the ministers, who were responsible to the king alone, and the Landsting, or "upper house," with the propertied and hereditary classes in the kingdom. The former struck out for a constitutional government with a cabinet responsible to the people. They favored a measure of disarmament. The latter still dreamed of armaments and conquests and clung to the old absolutism.

But during all this period the peasantry were developing very rapidly. The Folk Highschools were transforming the countryside from a realm of ignorance and despair into a land of intelligence; and this more intelligent farming was bringing a great prosperity. Political power follows economic power: the Danes are not afraid to admit that fact. By 1901 the peasants had achieved such economic power that the king surrendered, accepted a complete constitutional government, and installed a cabinet which was to be responsible to the majority in the Folketing.

Since 1901, what the people have wanted has had some chance of being secured.

Throughout the period of struggle, from 1870 to 1901, the realistic groups carried on an agitation looking toward disarmament. They argued that the day of Denmark's military power was over and that she deceived herself in believing that she could ever again find real safety in her arms. The military idealists held this to be the counsel of the coward. The argument is still on, in the old form and in new forms. The realists hold that disarmament is not cowardice: it is simply a new way of dealing with old

Sculpture by Herman Vilhelm Bissen

The victory of 1848

problems. The old ways had failed, the old methods were obsolete, at least for a nation like Denmark. New ways must be found in national defense as in other matters. The old ways had been disastrous both to the national prestige and to millions of individuals. New methods could not prove less disadvantageous, and they might prove far more advantageous. They were worth trying, at any rate.

This agitation lost much of its strength in the decades before the World War when the great race in competitive armaments was at its height in Europe. Some twenty years ago, the Liberal government of the day decided that Denmark needed greater defenses; or, at any rate, that Copenhagen did. The antiquated defenses of the city, which had long outgrown their bounds, had been demolished a century before. The sites had been turned into public parks; the ancient moats had become beautiful lagoons. But, said the government of the day, if all Europe is to arm, Denmark must not be laggard. Accordingly, new fortifications were begun perhaps ten miles out, on the landward side of the city. At that time such a distance was thought sufficient to protect the city against bombardment by long range artillery. Those defenses were never finished. The great war, when it came, showed they would have been futile had they ever been completed.

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With this excursion into the city's past and the trend and clash of ideas which emerged from the last century before us, we are ready to reckon with them as we find them in Denmark ten years after the outbreak of the World War—Throughout the war this little neutral country had been in the position of a precarious listening post.

In April, 1924, a general election was held at which no party was able to secure a majority in the Folketing. But the Social Democrats led for position, and a coalition government was organized with this socialist party in the ascendency. Disarmament had been an issue in the election and the socialists felt that they had a mandate from the people to press the issue to a decision. Accordingly, when the new parliament assembled in October, 1924, the government offered a very radical cut in the naval and military budget. For some years that budget had stood at about sixty million Kroner a year. It was now proposed to cut it to twelve millions a year and to scale down both the army and the navy to one-fifth their accustomed strength. This proposal came to a vote in the Folketing and was carried by a majority of two on a strict governmental division. That vote was the foundation for the reports that reached America.

The program was lost in the Landsting, or upper house. It was buried in committee and never reported out. And there the matter stands as Parliament meets again this month.

But of course this it not the end of the story. The Socialists intend to push things consistently and carefully forward. Many good Danes fail to understand this intention. Said a leading journalist to me: "The Socialists talked a lot of damned nonsense during the campaign, and now they think they've got to keep the whole nation in an uproar till kingdom come to carry out their fool plans." But Alsing Anderson, national secretary of the Social Democrats, says that they have no alternative. Denmark must move one way or the other: either toward war or toward peace, and the Socialists intend to do what they can to promote peace—and disarmament. But they are handicapped by their lack of a parliamentary majority. They must go as far as they can and then wait for help.

It has been true in many instances in Europe since the war that the party which has stood for change, when it came to power, thus found itself in an unstable position. The Labor party in England never had a parliamentary majority and, hence, it could do little on its own.

There are four political parties in Denmark, today. According to an official publication of the Foreign Office, the Conservatives find their support principally amongst the propertied and commercial classes of the cities and towns; the Left draws principally from the propertied rural classes, especially the larger farmers; the Radical Left from the smaller landed property holders and certain intellectual circles in the cities; the Social Democrats from among the trades unionists in the cities but chiefly, of course, in Copenhagen. The economic foundations of Danish political life are here unblushingly uncovered.

The position of the parties in the present popular branch of parliament is as follows:

Conservatives	28	members
Left	45	"
Radical Left	20	"
Social Democrats	55	"

By a combination between the Social Democrats and the Radical Left, which really agree upon only one thing—their detestation of the other two parties—a government was organized with a precarious majority of two votes. These were the two votes that gave the disarmament measure its majority in the lower house.

While the political complexion of the upper house (the Landsting) does not affect the stability of a government in any way, it has concurrent legislative power with the Folketing. It can reject any bill it does not like. The Landsting is not elected by popular suffrage but under a complicated system not unlike our old practise when senators were elected by state legislatures. In the Landsting today the two conservative parties have a combined strength of 43 votes, the two governmental parties but 33. These figures show why the disarmament bill died in the upper house. The Social Democrats are prepared to carry the fight into the ultimate constitutional question as to whether the Landsting shall be permitted to block a measure favored by the Folketing or, like the British House of Lords, have its veto power clipped.

Meanwhile the argument of the Socialist leaders on the disarmament issue itself is very clever; perhaps too clever. They have the support of some very powerful newspapers. Denmark, they say, has been spending sixty million Kroner a year (about 15 per cent of her governmental income) on military enterprises. In the light of the experiences of the great war, most of this money is just naturally wasted: it is spent on obsolete types of armament and defenses. If the nation would spend two hundred millions a year (that is, 50 per cent of her income) for new types of armament and defenses, the expenditures, though ruinous to her internal economy, could, they say, be justified on the grounds of her external relationships. But not even the most hard-boiled militarist is prepared to go to such limits. Some sacred significance seems to have attached itself in the mind of the conservatives to the sixty million figure; the nation can't afford to spend more, they know; neither can it afford to spend less, they believe. The Labor party argues, however, that unless they spend more, they are throwing most of what they do spend away. They even go so far as to say that they can get more for twelve millions properly expended than the nation has been getting, recently, for its sixty millions.

The leaders of the Radical Left, the second party in the coalition, are not convinced by either side of the argument. They voted for the government measure, last spring, but with no great enthusiasm. That means that if the government is to get further with the issue at this session there must be a preliminary compromise within the coalition. If both coalition parties had been completely committed to the disarmament measure as it stood, the issue between the lower and upper house might have reached a constitutional impasse. The Socialists did not care to risk going so far. They have adopted other tactics. They intend to let the old measure die where it is—in the arms of its enemies.

When parliament reconvenes this month, however, they propose to offer a new measure which will have the full support of their farmer colleagues in the government. This will provide for an annual expenditure of some seventeen million Kroner for naval and military purposes, a cut of some 70 per cent from the present annual expenditures rather than the 80 per cent of the earlier measure. On this bill

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the government will ask for a show-down in both houses, lower and upper: all members will be put upon their records.

It can be predicted that the new measure will be passed by the lower house with the same majority of two; and that it will be rejected, as before, in the upper house; but this time, the members of the upper house will probably have to come to individual decisions in the matter. The new bill, considerably less radical than the former one, will give the Socialists a much stronger position, and they will be quite willing to go to the country on the issue. It may even turn out that, in course of time, an upper house will be recruited that will support some such measure. That is not likely for some time to come, since the mechanisms by means of which the upper house is elected are largely under the control of the conservative forces. But as long as the Socialists are in power they may be expected to exert pressure cumulatively in the direction of retrenchment and disarmament.

DANISH public opinion, none the less, is far from being united in support of any disarmament movement; and moreover, those who are in favor of reduction are divided as to program. There are pacifists among them, intellectual internationalists, supporters of the League of Nations, and Socialists.

Extreme pacifists are rare in Denmark, I believe; but a very large part of the population are pacifistic in feeling and intention. It may be said that Danish civilization is, as a whole, about the most peaceful, peace-producing and peace-loving in all the world. Her rural and village industrial and economic organizations are centers of cooperative good will. These depend upon international trade for their continuance. Hence, both by interest and by inclination the rural and village life is pacifist. None the less, it is quite prepared, at any time, to do what it can to keep the channels of trade open. If that would mean war—well, let it be war, then!

The intellectual internationalists, amongst whom Georg Brandes was once the outstanding figure, are for the most part not in the Socialist party. They are rather a sort of fifth wheel in the Radical Left, with a position something like that of the many American intellectual internationalists who, in the Progressive movement of 1924, tried to make themselves believe that La Follette was not as much of an isolationist as he declared himself to be. In Denmark, as everywhere, this "Progressive" party is a mystery. Its basic element is the small farmer. Why should the "intelligentzia" of the city cling to this party of small farmers? Partly because they have nowhere else to go; partly because it represents, somewhat unconsciously, the only existing combination of cooperative intelligence with individual freedom. The conservative parties are lacking in hospitality to ideas; the Socialist party is committed to a subordination of the individual. The intellectual in Denmark, as elsewhere, gives up his chance to be politically powerful and joins this, the smallest of the parties, in order to be free.

The supporters of the League of Nations were, as far as I could determine, either few in numbers or peculiarly inarticulate. That does not mean that there is in Denmark no interest in the League. There is large interest, but no great passion for it. The attitude of the present government may be seen in the recent so-called "Denmark proposal" which was submitted to the Council in August and which provided for an international commission of conciliation which is to be attached to the World Court and which is to do what it can to adjust matters at issue before they are finally taken to the Court.

The Socialists seem not greatly interested in the League of Nations, or any disarmament plan that the League may be likely to sponsor. Apparently they pin their hopes to the working out of some sort of a league of the Social Democratic parties of the nations, with their eyes first of all on the German Social Democrats.

THE opposition to disarmament or retrenchment in military expenditures is not easily to be dismissed. It is not too much to say that public opinion was greatly aroused by the vote on the recent bill. The more conservative people were really frightened by the fact that nothing but a few votes in the Landsting stood between the nation and complete disarmament. Since that vote was announced there has been much agitation and talk; and the movement of public opinion has been quite distinctly to the right—at least, articulate opinion. It may even turn out that the disarmament movement reached its high tide, for the present, when the lower house passed the government bill by a majority of two.

There are, too, those who say that the government itself is not sorry for the way things have gone. It is between two fires. The Social Democrats are compelled to try to redeem their campaign pledges. But Denmark is face to face, today, with a Europe that is more completely armed than ever before in history—Germany alone excepted—and they have to deal with the hard facts of the international situation as well as with their own party followings. It is easy to talk; it is not so easy to see exactly what should be done to anticipate far-off events in the Europe of today.

Denmark is, of course, a "free country"; but that does not mean she is a free agent. She occupies one of the most important strategic positions in the European scene. The advocates of disarmament are unable to escape that fact. Some of them say: "Even if we had the votes, the rest of Europe would not let us disarm. They want us to be ready to be *used,* when the right time comes." Denmark is the key to the Baltic. England is interested in the Baltic. Russia lives by the Baltic. Denmark lies midway between England and Russia—and Germany lies to the south. How can she disarm?

The Danish conservatives, who are much stronger in sentiment, it is true, than in political or economic power, hold with their kind everywhere that a nation must always be prepared to fight, no matter how hopeless the fight, no matter if fighting means national doom. "Anything else would be cowardly and ridiculous," said one of them to me. "Who ever heard of a nation that deliberately decided not to fight? Such a nation were better off dead!" He was bitter, puzzled, incredulous. He was honest and sincere. But he was disturbed by the incredible doings of this modern world, and the statesmen who would rather talk than fight!

On the other hand, Denmark has a citizenship such as few nations, in any age, have known. Not merely is this true of the cities, but the villages and rural regions contribute their full share to this (*Continued on page* 53)

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Before Six

By MARY ROSS

THE graduate students looked up to find that the professor of psychology had entered the classroom with a baby in his arms. He said nothing to explain the presence of the young visitor, but sat holding her quietly while she clutched with chubby fingers at the white enamel cup and little red wooden cube that lay on the table before her. Then he turned to the class and asked for guesses as to the baby's age. The assembled educated intelligence was focussed upon the young subject, and the resulting estimates ranged from two months to two years! As a matter of fact that baby was exactly nine months old in point of time; according to the "developmental diagnosis" which is the subject of this article, she rated consistently at the six months level.

Strangely enough, the world seems to have gone on for centuries bringing up children without often stopping to take a good look at them. Until a few decades ago they were dressed like little grown-ups and that pathetic disregard of their need to grow and to play was reflected in the standards of morals and manners and educational procedure laid down for them, as rigid as the stays of the tiny English princesses or cumbersome as the bustles and pantalettes of little American girls of the forties, or the hoopskirts of the sixties and seventies. It took a long time for even the artists, who are supposed to use their eyes, to realize that a child's body is proportioned quite differently from that of an adult. The babies in the arms of the early Madonnas are adults in miniature. Perhaps some of the conventional disillusionment of newly-attained fatherhood can be traced to the expectation that a son or daughter a few hours old will be as plump and responsive as the babies of the Renaissance paintings, which surely must have been modelled after much older children. A much criticized modern sculpture, the portrait by Paul Manship of his daughter at the age of three weeks, is one of the very few realistic representations of a young baby in art.

From a silhouette by Gerta Reis, 1924

To grow and to play freely and naturally is the prerogative of the child of today. The pre-chool years are the period of greatest speed in both physical and mental development

Science, of course, has been assembling a fair amount of data to show the normal growth of human beings. Even parents are familiar with such general rules as those which declare that babies should double their birthweight in the first six months and triple it in the first twelve, and elaborate standards have been worked out to show the stages whereby the ratio of a child's head to his total height changes from one in four or five at birth to one in eight at maturity, or to tell at what age his legs first exceed his arms in length. But little has been done to find out the normal rates of other and more subtle kinds of development of very young children.

The series of pioneer studies which have been carried on at the Yale Psycho-clinic during the past six years under Dr. Arnold Gesell and his associates, started, as most such studies have started, with the study of exceptional children. The first years of the Psycho-clinic, which was opened in 1911, had been spent almost entirely in the study of exceptional school children. The Clinic, however, was placed near the medical clinics of the University; a weekly baby welfare conference held its sessions across the hall, and increasingly the workers in the Psycho-clinic began to interest themselves in younger children and in the common or garden variety. In 1920 a systematic study was made of two-year-olds. Data was obtained from the department of health to show where in New Haven a two-year-old birthday was about to be celebrated, and the psychological investigator visited that home on the birthday itself, or within two weeks of it, to study the child. Later studies were made of children at exactly three, four and five, and then the investigations were pushed backward to include even the tiniest, babies at a month, four months, six and nine months, and a year, and a year and a half.

When an automobile charges a hill, Dr. Gesell points out, it goes most rapidly at the start and slows up progressively as it gains on the incline. Similarly the development of a child is most rapid at the very beginning of life. It slackens gradually and progressively through the period of gestation, infancy and childhood until he makes—or does not make—the adult grade. An amount of growth and development which will require years during the period of adolescence, for example, is accomplished in weeks or months in babyhood. In general, the longer a child develops, the slower his rate of development and the longer the period it takes him to add a given increment of physical or mental growth.

And as the speed of an automobile on a given grade is an indication of its power, so the rate at which a child is developing is a more or less reliable indication of his capacity to develop. The obvious method of measuring that rate is to find a usual or normative standard which most children

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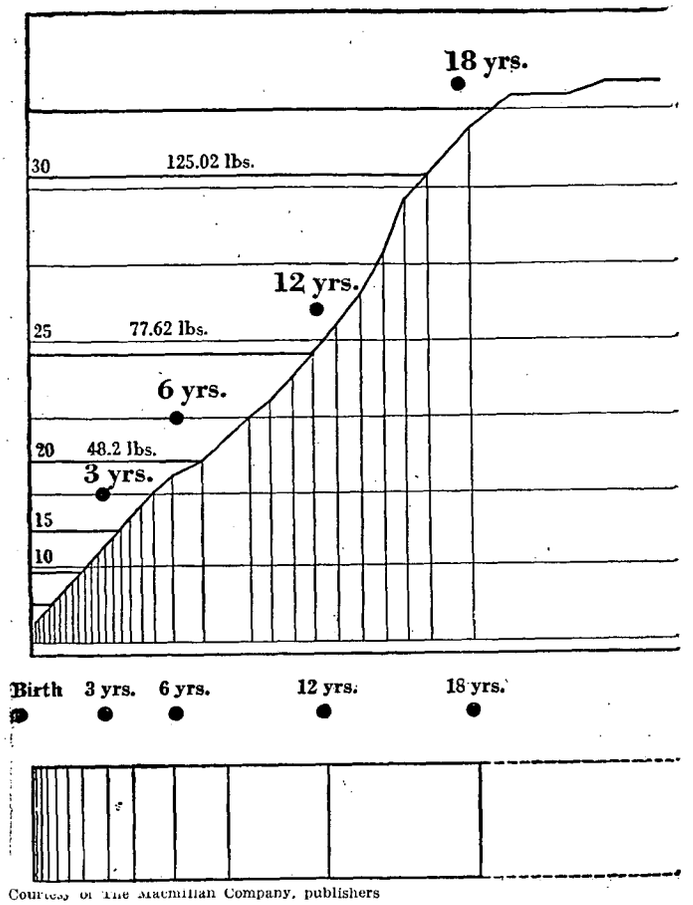

Courtesy of The Macmillan Company, publishers

Figures 1 and 2. Graphs of Physical and Mental Growth. The upper figure is adapted from Minot's graph, showing the physical growth of man from birth to maturity, with vertical lines added to mark the duration of the periods required for each 10 per cent addition to the weight. (See Minot: Age, Growth and Death, Putnam's, New York.) The lower figure illustrates the arrangement of developmental intervals discussed on page 21 of The Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child by Dr. Arnold Gesell (The Macmillan Company, New York). Beginning at three months these intervals are so placed as to yeild the following sequence of developmental quotients: 3/4, 2/3, 2/3, 3/4, 2/3, 3/4, 2/3, 3/4, 2/3, 3/4, 2/3, 2/3. There is an analogous concentration of mental growth in infancy. The older the child gets, the longer it takes to develop a proportionate amount.

can attain at a given age—and it is such a series of standards—in terms of four, six, nine, twelve and eighteen months, and after that in even years to six—which the Yale work has established. Like any other more or less arbitrary standard such as the I. Q., the nutritional index, or the like, the whole value of any effort to gage a baby's capacities depends upon the wisdom and experience of the examiner, and his ability to interpret that particular child's performance in relation to the standards which most children can reach at a given age.

The relationship between age and development as a measure of capacity is something which has long been recognized: witness the intense interest of mothers in trains to know the age of the baby in the next seat so that they may compare its behavior with that of their own children. The work of the Yale Psycho-clinic (and that of other similar studies in other parts of the country, notably the University of Iowa) aims to make possible such comparisons on a scientific basis, built up from the close observation of many actual children, seen not through the rose mist of parental prejudice but the trained judgment of impartial observers.

To what only a few years ago was a vacuum in child welfare work—the pre-school period of development, from two to six, observers and organizers have rushed in from all sides. Through its very newness and utter helplessness a young baby impresses its parents with their need of expert advice and guidance. But an old baby of two or three is often supplanted by a younger member of the family just at the time when he is trying to make new and desparately hard adjustments to a world whose horizons are widening with dizzying rapidity. On the educational side, a child performs the amazing feat of acquiring and perfecting a language by the time he is six, and lays the foundations of his ideas of the family, of sex, of money, of birth and death, and most of the other more or less insoluble problems of the human race. On the physical side, he developed from a tiny germ to a human being whose brain has attained practically its adult weight. He has learned the intricate feats of balance necessary for walking; he has acquired a certain amount of control over his five senses, and an amount of muscular coordination that would put some adults to shame. In the first six years, Dr. Gesell believes, the development of a child is treble that of the succeeding twelve years.

This tremendous speed of development carries with it proportionate risks. One third of all the deaths of the nation occur before six years of age, and there are twice as many deaths during the five years of pre-school life as during the following ten years of school life. By the time a child is ready for school a surprising amount of his whole life's course has been determined. Practically every case of mental deficiency is present and recognizable during the pre-school years. Three quarters of all the deaf, a considerable proportion of all the blind, one third of all the crippled, and more than three-quarters of all those defective in speech come to their handicap during this period. Tendencies to tantrums or running away or other conduct disorders have often been established. At the end of the first year of public school one-quarter of all beginners fail of promotion.

From a silhouette by M. Edouart, 1841

Stiff and formal, like costumes of the period, was childhood in the 'forties

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Many of these defects or accidents of development are preventable. But before they can be prevented they first must be recognized. And the recognition of even the handicaps which cannot be prevented or cured—such as some kinds of mental subnormality—is likewise the first step toward helping their possessors to reckon with a lifelong liability and compensate insofar as is possible by the fullest development of all the assets which they possess. Hence the need of "developmental schedules" by which to gage roughly the distance which a given child has traveled on his long road to maturity and the rate at which he is traveling. The sooner we know that rate the more perfect can be our plans for his journey, the more suited to him the goal toward which his interest is directed. The early ages covered by the Yale studies have some positive advantages to the examiner, inasmuch as a very young child should show proportionately greater progress in a short span of time between successive examinations, than could be expected of older subjects, and can be more easily supervised and more quickly followed up. A young child also is less "conditioned," to use the psychological term, than an older one. That is, he has acquired fewer habitual ways of doing things or responding to things from his surroundings, and his behavior in that degree is the more characteristic of himself.

IF you had walked up the elm-arched streets of New Haven one fine morning last spring you might have seen a gleeful young baby wheeled in her carriage to the door of one of the old mansions and carried inside, as though she were going home for her dinner and nap. As a matter of fact, this was one of the clients of the Yale Psycho-clinic on the way for her periodic examination. The grown-up in charge was not her mother, but the agent of a child-caring society, for Julia, then aged a year, had spent the last nine months, following the death of both parents, in a boarding home, and now the question of adoption had risen.

Upstairs Julia was carried through a waiting room hung with charts and pictures drawn from the clinic's work, to one of two inner examining-rooms, not unlike a nursery in a private home. And there the psychologist who had examined her first at four months, and then at six and at nine, for the fourth time presented her with a series of enticing playthings.

At twelve months there are nearly forty tests which Julia might or might not be able to meet. Some of these are labeled A plus—that is, less than 20 per cent of the children studied have been able to accomplish them at one year; others are A, the attainment of from 20 to 49 per cent of the children tried at that age; and so on, till C is reached by a rating which means that from 85 to 100 per cent of the one year olds are able to do this. The tests are arranged under five classifications—motor, language, adaptive behavior, and personal and social behavior.

The whole array of some one hundred and fifty items, developed during the study of five hundred children, has been divided into ten ascending schedules characteristic of normal behavior at different ages. A tiny infant cannot even "see" a book, for example. At four months he can perceive one, should it be placed near him. At six months he can reach and grasp it. At nine months he could bang it or put it into his mouth. At twelve months his pleasure probably would be to tear out its leaves. At eighteen months he may adorn its pages with scrawls and scribbles. At two years he may be ready to look at some of its pictures. At three years he may be interested in one of its short and simple stories. At four years he may be able to turn its pages. He will perhaps respect books sufficiently to permit them to rest safely on their shelves and not use them as toys or building blocks, though we still scarcely expect him to have much spontaneous concern for those rows of ink lines that we call printed words.

At Julia's advanced age of twelve months a young person may be expected to stand without support, to creep or hitch along the floor and to walk with help, to show a preference for one hand in reaching, and to scribble imitatively with a crayon—all these motor characteristics. The language characteristics include the ability to understand simple verbal commissions (to stop, or mustn't touch, for example), saying two words besides mama and dada, and waving bye-bye. Under adaptive behavior are such items as placing a little red cube in a cup on command, recovering the cube when the examiner had put it under the cup, holding a cube in each hand and taking a third, and putting a small rod in a half-inch hole. Personal-social behavior is summed up in the baby's playing with his image in the mirror, cooperating while he is being dressed, holding a cup to drink, and possibly using a spoon, playing with blocks (but not very constructively), inhibiting simple acts on command, and imitating simple acts such as scribbling or rattling a spoon.

Courtesy of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

One month four months six months nine months twelve months

Scientific observation of a large number of children discovers normal development at the birthday milestones

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But Julia, urged to find the cube which she had seen placed under the cup, merely smiled amiably. She could sit without a supporting arm behind her, but crumpled cheerfully when an attempt was made to stand her on her feet. Holding three cubes at once was a feat which obviously intrigued her, but lay beyond her ingenuity, and the "verbal commissions" met the same complacent but unresponsive smile. Through the whole long series of items, Julia's behavior fell below the ratings which might be expected of a year-old baby; in fact in this series of test items, her tricks and responses were those characteristic of a nine months old child. In point of time she was a year old; in behavior, only three-quarter of a year.

SUCH a conclusion bears the formidable title of *developmental diagnosis*. Obviously it can be based only upon the composite finding of a whole series of items. The fact that Julia could not stand, might have been due to rickets, for example, and not to a slow development of muscular coordination. For such matters the judgment of trained and experienced observers is essential. There is no fool-proof pattern which any ordinarily intelligent person can apply. But with training and experience many apparent difficulties of descision may be over-ridden. There was one rickety baby, so weak that at six months he could only lie passively in his basket, with no effort to sit, or reach or do the things which should be expected of babies at this age. But the examiner saw him run one little finger along the reed of the basket with a niceness of direction which would have been very admirable in an older baby. That was a sufficient indication that his passivity was due to physical weakness not defective development.

But, returning to Julia, there was the indubitable fact that each of four examinations had shown her development to be less than the normal standard. A retardation of three months at twelve months may be as serious as a retardation of three years at twelve years. The latter, expressed in terms of the I. Q., shows a rating of 75. The brightest prediction which the clinic staff could vouchsafe for Julia would be dull normal—and probably that was an over-optimistic view. But to look at her was to forget such regrettable predictions in admiring her yellow curls, blue eyes and dimples. She was exactly the storybook kind of orphan who would win the hearts of prospective foster mothers on the spot.

At one year such subnormality is almost impossible of detection except by an expert using a scientific scheme of study such as that outlined above. By the time Julia was four or five it probably would be evident that she was not as "advanced" as other children of the same age. When she got into school, there would be increasing difficulty—and it is very doubtful if she ever would be able to finish more than the grammar grades. Any painstaking plan for adoption would have to stress these almost certain conditions. To let her enter a family and a social circle where college education was taken as a matter of course would be to pave the way for bitter disappointment for both parents and child.

In the group of children who have been brought to the Psycho-clinic by child-placing agencies of New Haven for study and diagnosis, there have been many such problems as that of Julia. The value of such normative standards of childish development as those which the Yale Psycho-clinic is formulating are obvious in the case of children such as these, cast out of their own niche in life and dependent upon the wisdom of impartial outsiders. Adoption must be a blind enough process at best; but whatever insight which may be given into the probable future development of an inscrutable baby helps to minimize the risks and the chances of disappointment on the part of the foster parents and unhappiness and failure on the part of the children. But what of its bearing on children in their own homes? Being born into a family has an element of permanence and inevitability not true of foster-relationships, and there is no probationary period at the start to test the compatibility of elders and child with the possibility of dissolving the relationship if it is a failure!

SUPPOSING that it were possible for family phyiscians generally to call in expert consultation such as that available in New Haven, would the parents of their little patients accept developmental diagnoses if they chanced to be unfavorable and could they profit by them?

Insofar as that question can be answered from the experience of Dr. Gesell and his associates the answer seems yes. There has been on the whole an extraordinary interest and a willingness to cooperate on the part of the parents of the five hundred children studied during the formulation of these standards and of others who have come in contact with the Clinic.

Scope for that interest will be provided in the Parent Guidance service offered this autumn by the (*Continued on p.* 61)

eighteen months two years three years four years five years

Coordination of mind and muscle in successively difficult tests increases in regular ratios as shown on the chart, page 31

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What the Churches Find as to Prohibition

ASSERTIONS TO THE EFFECT that prohibition has proved itself either successful or unsuccessful as a social policy are premature. No such conclusion is warranted, as yet.

PUBLICITY MATERIALS given out by both friends and foes of prohibition—and even by the Federal Prohibition Unit—taken by and large, have been hopelessly misleading and at best inadequate and inconclusive.

AN APPRAISAL of prohibition is exceedingly difficult because those factors which lend themselves to statistical statement—such as sickness and death from alcoholic disease, dependency as a result of alcoholism, and drunkenness—affect only a small fraction of the population; while the influence of prohibition upon living standards and upon the physical and moral wellbeing of the people is not at present susceptible of statistical statement.

THE DEBIT AND CREDIT BALANCE of national prohibition is one thing if stated in terms of a comparison of 1924 with 1917, but quite another thing if considered in the light of the trend during the intervening period. Thus the supporters of prohibition are right in claiming that alcoholic disease and mortality, alcoholism as a cause of dependency, arrests for drunkenness and similar phenomena, show a marked reduction when an average of several years just prior to the adoption of national prohibition is compared with an average of several years subsequent thereto. On the other hand, the anti-prohibitionists can successfully maintain that the prohibition period has quite reversed a favorable pre-prohibition trend with respect to many of these indices. And it is the trend that must be regarded as most significant. It does not yet appear whether we have reached the crest of the reaction; there is reason to hope that this is true, but no ground for assurance. From the viewpoint of the social statistician, we are not demonstrably much farther along with reference to these social phenomena than we should have been had we maintained the trend of the period immediately prior to the enactment of the Volstead Act. On the other hand, there is no assurance that we should have maintained that trend had the law not been passed.

THE ABOLITION OF THE SALOON has in any case, been definitely accepted by the country as a clear moral gain and has undoubtedly very greatly improved the condition of the working classes.

THE CLAIM THAT PROHIBITION has resulted in a large reduction of the death rate and consequently in an increased "expectation of life" needs, of course, to be greatly modified. It should rather be said that prohibition is presumably one of several factors, though a minor one, in bringing about the result.

THE APPEAL TO CRIME RECORDS to prove the merits of prohibition should be abandoned until more data have been compiled and more analytical work has been done. On the face of figures gathered from 185 cities total arrests were much higher in proportion to population than at any time in the previous decade. The recent increases appear to be due, not to a larger number of felonies but to increasing misdemeanors and especially to arrests for drunkenness, which doubled between 1920 and 1923.

THE EFFECT OF PROHIBITION upon business conditions is impossible to measure, particularly because a major movement of the business cycle, which is accounted for on an entirely different basis, has been the dominant economic feature of the prohibition period. There is good reason, however, to credit the prohibition regime with a substantial part in the continued upward movement of savings deposits during the recent depression years, and with the diversion of buying power from alcoholic beverages to various forms of consumers' goods.

THE CHARGE that prohibition is an important factor in the present revolt, particularly apparent among young people, against moral conventions, remains unproved. The novel social ritual of the hip flask and the cocktail is a manifestation, rather than a cause, of the departure from conventional morality.

RESPECT FOR LAW and government has admittedly declined, but the statement that this is due directly to prohibition laws or to violations of them runs counter to the conclusions of psychologists and educators as to the way in which such social attitudes are formed.

AS TO THE MERITS of federal prohibition enforcement, it must be said that, due to politics, inter-departmental friction and lack of vital interest in prohibition or of conviction as to its enforcibility, no adequate effort has been made up to this summer to enforce the Volstead Act. The higher officials of the government have hitherto allowed the business of enforcement to be controlled largely by influences outside the government and have failed to develop a strong, effective policy for which they were willing to assume responsibility.

THE EXTENT of present violations of the law no one knows. Conditions in the various states differ widely. The total amount of liquor consumed has manifestly been enormously reduced. The moral problem resulting from the illicit traffic is away out of proportion to its volume, which is no measure of the success of prohibition.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT should be able, under the new regime, to reduce smuggling to negligible proportions, prevent the diversion of industrial alcohol and the illegal withdrawals of bonded liquors, and break up the large scale bootlegging operations. The retail trade is beyond its power and if it persists will force the responsibility for prohibition enforcement back upon the states and the municipalities.

PUBLIC OPINION on prohibition is, of course, impossible to gage, but "samplings" indicate that the business community tends to be hostile, and industrial labor is quite sharply so. Newspaper editors appear to be in the main favorable, especially in the inland states. The hostile sentiments recorded concern, of course, the more severe restrictions of the Volstead Act, not the outlawing of the saloon. The great body of inarticulate sentiment is a subject for speculation. As judged by recent legislation in Massachusetts and Indiana, the movement of sentiment under the conditions of an election campaign is toward, rather than away from, a rigid prohibition regime. The irreconcilable minority, however, remains powerful enough in the great population centers to render thoroughgoing enforcement impossible.

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What's to Be Done About It?

By F. ERNEST JOHNSON

The opposite page summarizes the main points in the report on the prohibition situation brought out in September by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches. Below, Mr. Johnson, executive secretary of the department in charge of the report, indicates possible steps to be taken to improve the situation.

WHEN these words are printed the report on prohibition issued by the Federal Council of Churches through its Department of Research and Education will have run the gamut of newspaper publicity and will, without doubt, have drawn a good deal of fire. Those responsible for it have no hope that it will be accepted without criticism. The important question is whether it will in some measure stimulate action with reference to the conditions to which it calls attention. There have been many calls for the report but The Survey alone has asked for a statement as to what should be done about it. I can only speak for myself but I do it with alacrity, particularly because the readers of this article will be principally persons interested in social work.

First of all, I should like to see the social workers and the leaders of civic life in America abandon their comparative indifference—one might say their superciliousness—toward the prohibition question. Somehow the issue is still thought of as a reformers' program, the product of single track minds, and as remote from the realm of social science. This is a hangover from the time when Theodore Roosevelt, in answer to the question "What about prohibition?" could say in a national political convention, "Oh, go to a primary school and study it!" The fact is, however, that no matter how much or how little one may think of prohibition as a program of moral reform, it is the greatest experiment in our history in the realm of social control and, as such, merits the most serious attention. Many social workers and educators realize this, but they have not succeeded in communicating their interest to the majority of their fellows.

The most up-to-the-minute comment one can make on prohibition is that we are now, as far as it is humanly possible to judge, at the most critical point in the history of the experiment. The government is tardily responding to the dissatisfaction of the country over the failures of its enforcement program, and proposes to make a much more vigorous effort. But as stronger hands seize the prohibition helm, the influence of the prohibition lobby wanes. Men who are not themselves prohibitionists have assumed command, men who will probably not hesitate to abandon the cause as a discredited policy if their efforts do not meet with considerable success. Now is the time to organize moral support for the federal enforcement program.

This can not be done by the mass meeting method. It is a personal task. In civic organizations, trade associations, labor unions, social clubs, churches and colleges, an appeal should be made for voluntary cooperation in carrying to a clear demonstration this great experiment in social control. Hitherto we have relied on force, the compulsion of the majority will, to take care of the recalcitrant, whether his irreconcilability rests upon an unquenchable thirst or upon high-minded convictions with respect to personal liberty and the natural rights of free persons. It is an unintelligent confusion of contraries. Prohibition is an experimental social policy; it should not be regarded as ultimate or sacrosanct. Those who think it wrong must be respected for their convictions, reasoned with as to their premises and given freedom to dissent if dissent they must.

In place of a reckless use of epithets, in which I fear we temperance people have been a bit intemperate, I should like to see a frank appeal made to unconvinced and unfriendly minds to give support to a great demonstration as to the value of prohibition as a social measure. If they cannot assist in the rescue of the experiment they can at least "stand by." What we want now is less emphasis upon force and more emphasis upon cooperative citizenship.

The limitations of the federal government with reference to this task must be frankly recognized. Any effort to magnify federal authority to the point where it takes the place of the local policeman is contrary to our constitutional system and out of joint with the times. It should be freely admitted, for example, that in New York we cannot demand nor expect an effective prohibition regime until the people of the commonwealth want it badly enough to cooperate with the federal government in securing it. Our huge retail trade in liquors is our own concern, and we must deal with it, if at all, by means of a state law; there is no power at Washington to stop it if we are not willing to do so. Whatever the past delinquencies of the national government with respect to prohibition, President Coolidge is performing a timely public service in reminding the American people that if they value their liberty they must be the custodians of their own morality. The success of prohibition requires that it be conceived henceforth not as a means of doing for communities what they will not do for themselves, but as a device for aiding them in doing what they have clearly and unequivocally determined to do. If that determination is lacking a federal law is gratuitous and in the long run probably useless.

It is equally true, of course, that without a strong federal administration to stop smuggling and break up nation-wide conspiracies and wholesale bootlegging operations, effective prohibition is an idle dream. It is important now that the public understand the significance of what has been done at Washington. In freeing the prohibition administration of propagandist control, the government has cut out a much more definite and a more limited task for itself. The crux of the whole matter of enforcing national prohibition seems to lie here:

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Can the federal government so limit the supply of illicit liquor at the source and so cripple the wholesale traffic by taking the profit out of it that the retail bootleggers will be forced out of business, contempt for the law turned into respect, the illicit smack of a contraband beverage deprived of its popularity and the tide turned back toward the purposeful and sustained suppression of the liquor traffic?

A masterful handling of the federal end of the business may administer a sobering shock to the inebriated sections of the country, leave the supply of liquor so limited and so inferior that the whole situation will take on a new aspect and the task of local policing will be reduced to compassable proportions.

But if the federal government is to accomplish anything like this it must have a stronger mandate and firmer support from the country than it now has. It looks as if the hands of the new chief administrator of the law may be effectually tied by the insidious influence of political patronage which has its operating base in the Senate Office Building. It would seem that only the organized protest of the citizenry can prevail against this corrupting influence.

The question inevitably arises, should the Volstead Act be changed? My own anwser is, yes—in the direction of administrative efficiency, not in the direction of "liberalization." Not that the ultimate enforcibility of the law is to be lightly taken for granted; for it can not be. But to "liberalize" the Volstead Act before it is clearly demonstrated that it cannot be enforced would be to abandon a great experiment before its completion and to waste several years of inconclusive and painful experience.

It will be time enough to make the law less stringent when the best efforts of the government fail to stop the illicit liquor traffic. If those efforts fail to win the mind and heart of the country to the law, modification will be the only practicable or honorable course. In the meantime, in the present writer's judgment, the law should be strengthened in its administrative provisions so as to put the prohibition agents under the civil service and to centralize responsibility and eliminate the possibility of buck-passing. At present the officer technically responsible for enforcement of the Volstead Act is the commissioner of internal revenue. He is one removal from a cabinet officer —the secretary of the treasury—on the one hand and from the director of the prohibition unit on the other. He is far enough down from the President and far enough up from the actual business of administration so that he avoids the brunt of criticism for the inefficiency of the unit and in turn protects the secretary of the treasury from the consequences of assuming full responsibility for it. At the same time the friends of the director of the Prohibition Unit have defended his administration on the ground that as a subordinate officer he does not always have a free hand. There are undoubtedly extenuating considerations all round, but without questioning motives, anyone can see that such an arrangement makes for confusion and the evasion of duty.

Most of all, we need a new educational program with two distinct objectives. One is individual, the other social. That is to say, we see more clearly than ever that the legislative phase of the battle against intoxicating liquors is but an incident in the unending task of the building of moral character and the regeneration of the human spirit. On the individual side this calls for patient training in habits of self control and temperate living. On the social side it requires education for citizenship with especial emphasis upon cooperative efforts toward social control. Personally, I am much less concerned over the fate of the prohibition regime than I am that that fate should be determined by intelligence and honesty rather than by chance or by prejudice and self interest. A trained citizenry, disciplined in the tasks of democratic government, may be relied upon to make decisions far better than we uplifters can prescribe them. The trouble is that our people are today intellectually and spiritually unprepared either to support the prohibition regime or to render a competent verdict upon its merit. The burden of effectually banishing the liquor traffic rests finally upon the educational forces of the community—the home, the school, the church, the press and the voluntary associations and agencies to which our society is constantly giving birth.

But we cannot do or teach beyond what we know. We need extensive researches to determine the actual results of prohibition and to estimate its possibilities. We cannot possibly now atone altogether for the negligence of the last five years. It is all very well to say that it is too early to discover the effects of prohibition. That would go without saying. But without continuous soundings and the assembling of fugitive social data we never shall be in position to make intelligent judgments.

Take, for instance, the matter of alcoholism as a factor in dependency. The statistics recorded in our study give but an intimation of what the facts may be. The lack of adequate records, comparable methods of study and fact recording and scientific analysis of results is appalling in view of the superior equipment for social research that this country possesses. It is a commonplace of course, that scientific researches are given little heed when the American electorate pounces upon a political issue that has become emotionally charged. Nevertheless, the scientific point of view eventually has its way. Social research with reference to prohibition may yield dividends many years hence, for this is likely to be a long-drawn-out affair.

Even assuming that the Volstead Act may be modified, there is no reason to think that the outlawing of the saloon will be rescinded, and any future changes in policy will be but chapters in a continuing warfare to break the hold of alcohol upon human life. It is a task that requires knowledge more than preachments.

And to the nations of Europe, anxiously watching our experiment and bewildered by conflicting accounts of it, the results of scientific research may bring immunity from some of our own unfortunate experiences. There is reason to think that the absence of unbiased studies of American prohibition and the prevalence of propaganda have given Europeans a grotesque idea of American prohibition.

If anything is to be done along the lines here indicated there could be no more auspicious time. The new prohibition administration has set up a bureau of investigation a part of whose work will be to study the effectiveness of prohibition. But the government is not equipped to make the studies that are most needed for an evaluation of the prohibition regime. It is highly important that the resources of the country for social research be levied upon in order to supplement the findings of the government.

The full report, The Prohibition Situation, is published by the Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York. 85 pp. Price, 25 cents.

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The New House

By ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE

Linoleum Cuts by Margaret Schloemann

WHEN the tired business man gets into his machine at the end of a wearing day and drives home, he longs for a quiet evening with his family, or perhaps a ticket to the show where he can watch some pretty girls dance. When Lena Denko folded her apron at five o'clock and spread a cover over her power machine, she and the other tired factory girls had longings similar to those of their employer—with this difference: they did not want to watch pretty girls dancing; they wanted to be the pretty girls who danced. Dancing was their ruling passion. They were young and they were vigorous, and just as the debutantes on the Heights could play tennis all the morning, and golf all the afternoon, and still wish to dance all night—so Lena and her friends of the Acme Wire Factory could operate a machine for eight working hours, dance during their lunch period down the corridors, through the hallway, and in the cloakroom, and wait impatiently for their evenings at the Eldorado, where they could continue dancing until the lights were put out. All the other sports and activities which they could not afford, which they had no time for, and which they had never heard of, were concentrated in the walk, the toddle, and the trot.

And yet as Lena started home after the whistle blew that Friday evening, she knew that her chances either of a quiet home evening or of foxtrots at the Eldorado were about equal. In fact they both exactly equalled zero. She and the other girls in her section often discussed the matter among themselves, but their arguments came to the same deadlock. All of their fathers forbade dancing at the Eldorado, and all of the girls were determined to do it. Elsie was the only one of the four who had hitherto had the courage to flout her parents' orders, extract the bills from her own pay envelope, accept an invitation from one of the wire men, and dance at the Eldorado until the band played Home Sweet Home for the last time.

"I got away with it," she whispered to the less adventurous three, "and Gee, it's swell, and I'm going again tonight, because my Dad, he's going to his lodge. He'll be out late himself and too drunk to know."

"Who are you going with?" inquired Lena fascinated.

"With my girl friend," whispered Elsie. "There's always lots of extra guys at the Eldorado. Its easy to pick them up. Come on, Lena," she urged. "You can dance the trot fine. You'll get plenty of partners."

Lena turned from her machine mournfully. "My Dad would kill me if I went," she sighed. "I wish he would anyhow. I wish I was dead now."

Such was Lena's state of mind over her prospects. What was the use of being a good dancer, if one could never dance? She took her pay envelope with its $13.33 in silence and walked slowly home in the rain. She did not even dare to open the packet and gaze upon the reward of a week's work. Only when the envelope was tightly sealed would her father believe that its contents had not been tampered with. Her money was merely a family tax. She had no sensation of having earned it, nor any pride in its possession. Taxation without representation might be tyranny, but Mr. Denko was building a house, and every penny earned by every Denko was necessary for its completion.

Sore as she was, even Lena could not deny that a larger house would be more convenient. As she entered the kitchen,

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Mrs. Denko was trying to prepare the evening meal with the two litle girls hanging on to her skirts, and the two little boys running in and out with much clatter. They seemed to be playing some game which required incessant dodging around and under the table on which the dinner was to be eaten. Chris, the eldest son, was taking off his wet boots by the stove. The baby was screaming violently, and as Lena entered, her mother thrust him into her arms —"There, take the kid," she groaned. "He won't stop yelling, and I'm about crazy." Having given Lena the baby, she shoved the two little girls after her into the next room, and administered an ineffectual cuff to the boisterous boys, who nevertheless continued their game. The room into which Lena went with the children held her cot, and that of her sister Bella. It was also the parlor, but on account of the rain outside, Mrs. Denko had been obliged to string up a clothesline in here as well as in the two bedrooms, on which a wash was drying. The wet clothes hung in front of the looking glass so that Lena could not comb her hair, but indeed the baby was clawing at it so vigorously that prinking would have been useless. She played with him faintheartedly. She was really too absent-minded to bother with him, and the two little girls clinging to her skirts fretted her, because they would not leave her alone.

The other rooms were both bedrooms. In one Mrs. Denko slept with the baby and the two little girls, and in the other Mr. Denko slept with the two little boys. Chris slept on a mattress in the kitchen. They needed a larger house, and it was the dream of Mr. Denko, a dream which he had brought with him from the Old Country, to own a good-sized house and to be monarch of his own acre. He was even now in his own room, noisily talking over the final costs with a carpenter.

MUCH as they all knew the house was needed, no one but Mr. Denko felt the slightest elation at the prospect of having one. The only land which they could afford to buy was miles away from their present neighbors, and Mrs. Denko dreaded new ones whose language she could not speak. It was many miles away from the children's school, from Chris' pool room, and from the Eldorado. Although Mr. Denko could catch a ride to work in a friend's truck, the others must walk half a mile of unpaved road to a street car, in which they would cling to a strap for interminable distances both morning and night. Moreover, despite Mr. Denko's steadfast dream that his children would soon be marrying and renting rooms from him in the new house, his children had no intention of doing anything of the kind, and Mrs. Denko knew that they would not. But she was unable to convince her husband that such an arrangement would never be agreed to by the unaccountable younger generation. It was so sensible and so thrifty, that Mr. Denko was certain that they would, and that was an end to it. There was to be a cow in the yard—"just like the Old Country," boasted Mr. Denko—and to Lena this was the last touch of ignominy. If any suitor ever ventured so far as to come to see her, which she doubted, he would be faced by a cow. She knew how it would look. It would be just like her grandmother's. She buried her face in the pillow. She felt that she could not bear it.

Meanwhile her father accompanied the carpenter noisily to the door, and then turned to his family with satisfaction.

"Well, I guess we get into our new house soon already," he announced. "We move out of here as soon as the rent's up."

The silence which greeted this statement aroused his temper, as it always did when he monologued on his one subject of passionate interest, the house.

"So you don't none of you want a new house? You all like this pigpen?" he asked angrily of the group. "Who am I building it for, but you and the kids? You don't know nothin'," he finished, more specifically, to his wife, who was trying to engineer the meal on to the table between the scuffling boys and Chris who was shaving at the sink. Mrs. Denko knew emphatically that she did not want to go to a half-finished house on a new and lonely street, far away from her friends, even if the house was owned by Mr. Denko. Its ownership seemed a luxury far too dearly bought, and she knew that her children agreed with her. But they all came from a race where, for generations, land has been the only wealth, and where the father of the family is its lord. So none of them spoke, although their silence increased his irritation.

"Who am I building for?" reiterated Mr. Denko.

"For yourself, and you know it damn well," muttered Chris through his lather.

"What did you say?" demanded his father.

"Supper's ready. Better eat it hot," interposed Mrs. Denko diplomatically.

"Eat it," snorted Mr. Denko, his anger rising. "Who'd pay for what we eat? None of youse, if you could help it."

At this statement, whose implications the children thoroughly understood, Chris drew his pay envelope out of his pocket, opened it in their presence, extracted five dollars for himself, gave the rest to his father, and returned, without words, to his shaving. Mr. Denko grunted and turned to Lena. She handed him her envelope without opening it, and then in a voice which astonished herself as much as her hearers she said, "I'd like five dollars too."

Mr. Denko's jaw dropped, and even Chris and her mother turned and stared. The four small children, stared also: they were accustomed to family scenes and could feel the electricity in the air.

"What d'ya want five dollars for?" Mr. Denko managed to gasp.

"A dress," murmured Lena faintly.

"A dress. Ain't you got a dress on?"

"I want another one. This ain't no good," said the voice in Lena's throat which she felt to be talking on without her control. Mr. Denko was fairly speechless for a moment and then the flood broke.

"A dress? You want to be like damned American girls who stand showing off on the street corners? You got one dress, and you want another one when we ain't got no money to pay for plaster and got to live in that house all summer without paint on the walls. Can we live all winter without plaster and without paint? Tell me that. I see you going wrong because you are with damned American girls in that factory, and I tell you I'll get you another job by that carpenter's brother. He's got a laundry with good Hungarian women. He'll pay you fourteen dollars. You go to that laundry Monday and you don't need no new dress."

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He would have gone on elaborating this theme had not the expression on Lena's face made him pause. She was gazing at him with the color gone from her cheeks.

"Hungarian laundry by that carpenter's brother?" she echoed.

At this moment Bella opened the door wet and hungry after a day at the "Five and Ten", but paused on the threshold as she scented trouble. The whole family was therefore assembled as an audience for Mr. Denko's answer.

"Yes, by that carpenter's brother," he repeated. "Them American girls with their dresses and their dancing are no good. You be better off by good Hungarian working women. And if Bella gets smart and wants dresses she can go there too. That carpenter's brother is good fella. Maybe he marry one of you," he added with a fatherly attempt at rough coyness. But this was too much for Lena.

"Marry that Hunky! Marry that Hunky" she screamed hysterically, and thrusting the baby into Bella's arms, she turned and threw herself on Chris' cot, sobbing and groaning, "I wish I was dead." The estimable widower was the last straw in a nervous strain compounded of work without hope, of dread of a new raw home among strangers, of resentment over her attached wages, of the failure to get a new dress, and of the conviction that never in a long and weary life should she have the chance to fox-trot in fairy land with the happy beings who crowded its waxed floor. The best dancer in the Acme to be buried in a "Hunky" laundry. Her only escape a widower with three. . . .

Lena's screams relieved her feelings and she continued to utter them. Bella turned to Chris and murmured, in a loud aside, "Marry old Matthew? Hot Dog!"

This was too much for Mr. Denko. He turned to Chris.

"So Matthew is a dog, is he? Ain't your sisters chickens, what they call? Ain't old dog better for chickens than fox or weasel? You want your sisters going around like American girls, no skirts, no stockings, no shawls on their necks, no sleeves on their arms? What you want your sisters to be? Girls on the streets? Ain't it better to marry a good fella and keep outta trouble, than go round like crazy fools, so no fella will marry them? Don't they want no husbands?" he inquired somewhat helplessly of his wife. "Do they think a good husband's just going round buying them new dresses? You bet he ain't," he added with emphasis, sure of his ground on this point. "You girls better be glad if some fool, *any* damn fool marry you before its too late. Some good hardworking fella—He'll show you where you get (he hesitated for his adverb)—where you-get-*up!*

Bella glanced at Chris, whose face was a mask. Then she ran over to Lena, and the two girls began to whisper and giggle hysterically. Chris, buckling on his ready-made tie, refused to look at either of them, but Bella shrieked at him, "Say Chris, Lena says that if old Matt tries to show her how to get Up, or get By, she'll show him how to get Out. Where we get Up? What language is that? Oh, the bees' knees!" and again the girls rolled in hysterical laughter, while Chris, with a red face, bent only on meeting his appointment with his girl, snatched his hat and slammed the door behind him.

His children's jokes were all that ever reduced Mr. Denko to terms. Only a few days before he had entered the room scrubbed and dressed for his lodge meeting, his big black mustache carefully waxed until it gave his face a ferocious and manly appearance. This mustache was his one claim to personal distinction, and he had admired it for twenty years. He secretly marvelled that Chris steadfastly refused to raise one. But when Chris rushed in and asked for his hat, Bella had glanced at her father, and then with a nod in his direction, had asked Chris why he didn't look on the hat-rack. Then the three elder children had suddenly screamed with such unaccountable laughter, that Mr. Denko and the baby had had to laugh too, although both were equally innocent of any inkling of the joke. For all his laughter, Mr. Denko had felt vaguely uncomfortable. What was it all about? Hat-rack? Hot dogs? And bees? It was too much. He now sat abruptly down to his supper and began to eat. When the girls' whispers struck him as suspiciously long continued, he ordered them to eat too. They ate, but they ate silently, and neither of them ate much.

After the dishes were washed and the five younger children put to bed, Lena announced that she intended to follow them. Bella agreed that she also was tired, and the door closed behind the two sisters for the night. Their voices could be heard for a time in animated whispers. Then they apparently went to sleep.

OF course, if Lena had intended to go to the dance with Elsie when she left the factory, she was even more determined now. Her uncertain future made the Eldorado appear a golden opportunity to be snatched now or lost forever. Bella, her confidante, was so sympathetic that she only agreed to stay away from the dance herself because of the fact that she had not been invited. It was agreed however that an invitation should be provided for her on the next occasion, and if it worked tonight there would be many occasions.

Lena met her friends by way of the window, and fortified by much rouge to divert attention from her working dress, she went with them to the Eldorado. As Elsie had promised they had no difficulty in securing partners from the many young men who waited, scuffling, outside the door. But just as the promised land was reached, and Lena's dream of happiness was about to be realized, she saw with horror that Chris and his girl were on the floor, slowly but inexorably gliding in her direction. She dragged her partner into the dusky hallway, and almost sobbed into his ear that she did not dare to dance for fear that her brother would tell on her.

"I'm not just afraid he will. I *know* he will," she repeated, so exited by her adventure and its catastrophe that she could hardly speak. "I gotta go home," she moaned. "I gotta go home, and go quick. . . ."

"Aw—don't go home," said her partner soothingly, although he agreed with her that they had better avoid trouble. "I know another dance joint that's better than this. We'll go there. A guy I know runs it. . . . You're too good a little dancer to go home yet," and before she quite realized what was going on, she found herself driving with her unknown escort to what he assured her was a much finer roadhouse several miles away.

"That's swell," Lena giggled in a reaction of nervous relief now that she had escaped Chris' eye. Then after a pause, "Say kiddo," she asked, "what name do you go by? I didn't catch it when we was introduced."

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"My name is Jack Dempsey, and it's the Prince of Wales' place we're going to," answered her friend,, putting his arm around her.

"Aint you comical?" giggled Lena again. "Say, don't get too fresh."

ON Monday night Lena met her father at supper.She was excited and flushed, but there was a kind of courage about her too, a courage which only the possession of money can give. Both her father and her mother were in the kitchen, but Lena's business was with the father.

"You'd better let me stay at the Acme," she said, looking him straight in the eye. "They raised me today, and I get more than I would at the laundry."

At this she took out a new five dollar bill from her purse, and laid it on the table.

"Take that," she said, her eyes glittering. "It will help pay the plasterer."

There was a moment of silence. Mrs. Denko looked blankly at her, and then turned and bent over the stove. Mr. Denko gazed doubtfully at the bill and then at Lena's eyes which still stared at him with a metallic glitter. His own glance dropped and he hesitated for a moment. But his fascinated eyes could see nothing but the new bill upon the table. It blocked his vision, and blotted out every scruple. With a grunt he took the money, thrust it in his pocket, and turned away. Lena gazed for a moment at the backs of both her silent parents. Then she gave a short laugh, stepped quietly into the front room and shut the door.

"BUT why blame it all on your father, Lena? How did he know where you got the money?"

"He knew all right. Where did he suppose I got it? I'd be likely to pick it off a bush, wouldn't I?"

"But you told him you got a raise."

"Do they pay a five dollar raise on Monday? Friday's payday, ain't it?"

"Maybe he didn't know that factories don't raise a girl's wages that way."

"He's a working man himself. He knows damn well they don't."

"But why don't you blame your mother too? She knew as much as he did."

"She had a hunch. But what could she do? She's all right, but she can't do nothing. She can't even talk American."

"I suppose that we just can't realize how much your father wanted to get into that new house."

"Nor how much we kids wanted to keep out of it."

"How long before Chris found you out?"

"Two months."

"How much money did you give your father?"

"Sixty-seven dollars besides my wages."

"Did he take it and ask no questions?"

"Sure he did. Sixty-seven 'plunks' is quite a help toward plaster."

"What does he say now?"

"He says now I can't come in the old hole. It's too good for me."

"But he feels badly over what you've done. You know he does."

"Sure he does. But I'll bet he feels worse that they found it out before the house was paid for. He'd feel more comfortable cussing me in a house out of debt."

"Lena, be just to your father. He is a proud man. He feels terrible over the disgrace."

"If he was so good, why didn't he stop it?"

"I suppose that he longed so hard for that house to be paid for, that he never stopped to think about where you got your money."

"That's just it. He thought more about the house than he did about me."

"What do you think he should have done, Lena?"

Long pause and slow answer. "I don't know no one's duty, Miss, but I know this. It don't pay to love money too much, and to want more things that it buys, than you can afford. It don't pay whether you're rich or poor. My father is a poor man, but he loves money just like the rich guys do. Maybe it's gold and diamonds that are luxuries for them, but paint and plaster was luxuries for him, and a new dress was a luxury for me. A house is all right if you can afford it, but he couldn't. And a house you can't afford is as bad as diamonds you can't afford, ain't it? We all want something we aint got, and we go crooked to get it. That's about the size of it."

"But Lena—a house is more necessary than diamonds, or even than a new dress, isn't it? It's more thrifty."

"Maybe it is, Miss. But if my father had given me the dress I wanted, instead of buying the house *he* wanted—if my father instead of another guy had thrown away his money on me—he might not 'a been so thrifty, and we might 'a been crowded—but I wouldn't 'a been *here*."

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EDITORIALS

WHAT is our responsibility as Americans toward China? The question is being seriously faced by thinking groups throughout the country. Traditionally sympathetic to Chinese aspirations, and committed to a policy of non-aggression, the people of the United States yet find themselves lined up with the Western Powers in a series of negotiations which may determine, for the present at least, the basis of relations between West and East.

The answer involves no little technical knowledge of underlying causes as well as of the swift developments of the past summer in the Chinese situation. It is encouraging, therefore, to find the churches, business interests, peace organizations and universities engaged in studying the problem in ways which will afford leadership for the layman. Even a partial list of the agencies at work is formidable. It includes the foreign mission boards of the Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal and Baptist churches, who have gathered considerable data on recent developments in China; the Foreign Missions Conference of North America; the Federal Council of Churches; the World Peace Foundation; the Foreign Policy Association; the China Society; the Fellowship of Youth for Peace; the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and a number of lesser groups in the West and Middle West. An emergent American Committee for Chinese Relief has come into being, with headquarters in New York. In another field, the Conference on American Relations with China, called at Johns Hopkins University in late September, brought together specialists in the spheres of commerce, finance, missions, education and industry to consider the larger implications of the situation as it concerns us.

The trend of recent events in the Far East is familiar in its barer outlines. Fuel for the conflagration which broke out in Shanghai on May 30 has been accumulating steadily since the war. The spread of machine production has been followed by the rise of a labor movement, fostered by wretched economic conditions and assisted, perhaps, by the activity of outside propagandists—Russian, Japanese, European. The growing impatience of the student class, always leaders in Chinese affairs, has been hastened by the delay of the Powers in fulfilling their wartime promises for improvement of China's international position. And the more recent anti-Christian movement, result of an intellectual revolt from tradition to science, and part of the reaction to all things foreign, has become increasingly formidable.

A strike in February in the Japanese-owned cotton mills of Shanghai, where Chinese operatives were attempting to organize, was followed by riots during the early spring. In mid-May a Chinese worker was killed by a Japanese guard. Chinese students, protesting by speech and placard the shooting of the mill hand, paraded the main streets of the Shanghai Foreign Settlement on May 30. The police of the foreign settlement, summoned to keep order, fired on the mob which was unarmed. Nine Chinese were killed and many more wounded.

During the following weeks events moved rapidly. A wave of indignation swept the country. In Shanghai a general strike involving more than 300,000 Chinese paralyzed trade and commerce. Frequent clashes with the police drew a further toll of lives. . . . In Hankow on June 11 British troops opened fire on rioting coolies, killing eight and wounding a score. . . . At Canton two weeks later, forty Chinese were killed by machine gun fire during a demonstration opposite Shameen, the foreign quarter. One foreigner was killed. . . . General strikes in Hong Kong, the British colony in South China, and in Canton were followed by a complete boycott of British and Japanese goods. . . . .Students deserted many mission schools throughout China, and sympathy strikes were staged by Chinese in Peking and the principal Treaty Ports.

THESE events were but the outward manifestations of internal unrest. Resentment against the inequality of China's relations with the Powers, and the methods of foreign economic encroachment, hitherto limited to student and political classes, gained new strength with the masses as reports of further bloodshed were broadcast. China's "requests" changed overnight to "demands."

Ten days after the Shanghai affair the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, composed of the leading financial and commercial interests, presented a series of thirteen demands as terms for settlement. Behind these demands stood the great bulk of Chinese organized opinion, from the conservative Chamber of Commerce to the more radical student unions, the street unions composed of 10,000 small shop-keepers organized by streets, and the trades unions. Submitted first to the diplomatic delegates sent to Shanghai to negotiate for a settlement with the Chinese commissioners, the thirteen demands were later, on June 24, officially handed the Powers in a note from the Chinese foreign office. But

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the Shanghai negotiations came to naught when the diplomatic delegation returned to Peking with the statement that the demands went beyond the scope of their instructions. They have as yet published no report of their findings. And the note of June 24 remains unanswered.

THE thirteen demands are significant as reflecting the present temper of China. They ask as terms of settlement, first apology, compensation for the dead and wounded, investigation of responsibility and punishment of offenders and betterment of labor conditions, and second, settlement of questions long a source of friction between foreigners and Chinese in Shanghai. In the latter group are demands for revision of the Mixed Court, taken over by the Powers at the time of the revolution (1911) and retained since then without legal or other treaty right, and franchise for Chinese residents in the Foreign Settlement on the basis of taxes paid and without distinction as to nationality. (At present Chinese residents pay more than 80 per cent of the taxes in the Settlement).

Beyond the thirteen demands lie the larger aspirations of China. What China asks, (and since May 30 she asks it not in the name of a meaningless government, but in the name of a nationally conscious and highly irritated people) is revision part and parcel of the so-called "unequal treaties" under whose exceptional provisions foreigners enjoy their special rights and privileges. Extra-territoriality, with its mixed courts and consular jurisdiction, must sooner or later go, as it has already gone in Japan and Turkey. And with it, says China, must go foreign control of customs. If mere tariff revision would have satisfied China at the time of the Washington Conference, nothing less than complete tariff autonomy will meet her demands today. Revision of unequal treaties, with abolition of extra-territoriality and tariff autonomy—such are the demands with which the Powers are confronted.

The summer has witnessed one further development in the Chinese situation with the coming into force of the Nine Power Washington Treaties relating to China, and the calling by China of the tariff conference provided for in the treaty relating to customs. The scope of this conference was limited at Washington to consideration of a slight upward revision of the tariff rates. But China, consistent with a reservation made at the time, has asked the Powers to permit discussion of tariff autonomy. In reply the Powers retained a united front. They failed to mention "autonomy" by name, but expressed a willingness to hear "any reasonable proposal" which may be made by China. As to abolition of extra-territoriality they expressed a willingness to appoint a commission (as provided at Washington) to investigate the possibility of revision of the treaties, but only in measure as China demonstrates her willingness and ability to safeguard the rights and property of foreigners. The reaction in Peking was unfavorable, Chinese radicals pointing out that revision had been promised for more than twenty years (in the treaties of 1902 and 1903) and that since then China had completely reorganized her judicial system on modern lines.

The question confronting Americans at this juncture reaches far. A full and sympathetic hearing of China's case, and a willingness to take the first step in concert with China, might well lead to more than a temporary solution. But the attitude of the interested powers, particularly Great Britain and Japan, offers little basis for the hope. We may swiftly reach a point where Americans must choose whether the United States shall stand with the Powers and block advance, or take the lead, at the risk of a split with the Powers.

The organized concern of Americans is belated; but the pressure of public opinion, founded on established facts, may prove a force to reckon with at some crucial turn of affairs in the not far distant future. Meanwhile, as Professor Burgess and Miss Kelsey make clear, American responsibility does not end with immediate political considerations—it reaches to spheres where missionary and industrialist are engaged.

A REVIEW of the Johns Hopkins conference must be deferred to another issue; but no better illustration of the mounting interest in the Far East could be had than the Tenth Annual Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, earlier in September. The theme was how to get a pacific world around the Pacific sea. A majority of the meetings were conducted on the plan of having two principal speakers present opposite sides of each issue, followed by questions and general discussion from the floor. This was done not as a debate —the presentation of one side attempting to knock out the other side—but rather as a friendly comparison, with the objective, not a decision as to which side wins but the gaining of a larger, more accurate and truthful view for all concerned. No conference technique has yet been evolved to do this perfectly but the Swarthmore meetings were successful on at least three counts: They were interesting; the three hundred participants were scarcely ever bored, questioning and discussion was eager. The meetings were frank. Delicate questions were not kept in the background, speakers did not tone down their ideas. Yet all the discussions were friendly. A pacifist audience extended extra time to a captain of the R.O.T.C. and a West Point Colonel moved a vote of thanks for the "brilliant exposition" of the case against preparedness given by the secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War.

An unusual and much appreciated feature which helped with emotional background was the performance of the play Inheritors in an open air theater by the Hedgerow Players.

The most searching moments of the Conference were perhaps those which came as Paul Hutchinson expounded the urgency of a right-about-face which would free Christian missions from any entanglements with gunboats and nationalism. The conference drew up on the last day a statement part of which declared:

We believe that the time has come when missionary organizations should completely disassociate themselves and their workers from the special treaty privileges which have been secured from China under coercion. A serious responsibility

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rests upon them also, we believe, to cooperate with the new efforts of other agencies to secure and make known to the Western public such facts and information about events in the Far East and the trend of Oriental opinion as are not now available through the Western press.

We on our part would urge our government to throw its whole weight unreservedly toward the extension of the coming conference of the Nine Powers to include a frank, honest, and thorough discussion of all special treaty privileges of the powers in China so that the Western world may have a fair chance to hear China's side of the case. We believe that if the facts were fully known the public would forthwith demand immediate steps towards the abolition of extra-territoriality and the restoration of China's sovereignty, unimpaired.

THE recent California conference on adult education was more of a success than its planners dared hope. It was called jointly by the libraries, the schools, and the university to plan a state program. The first three days were devoted to adult education in its largest aspects—education for everybody—education which will make us all better acquainted with ourselves and our world. The last two days was a kind of revival meeting of directors of immigrant education from Eureka to San Diego who met for the first time after years of working at problems by themselves in their own little corners.

To begin with school superintendents, high school principals, university professors and librarians of the larger libraries listened to talks on European experiences in adult education—the Danish Folk High Schools, the German and Swedish schools, the Adult School Movement and W. E. A. in England and then some of our American efforts—discussion which gave a definition to the term adult education. That is an amazingly difficult concept for an American educator. We know about vocational education by which you get a better job—in fact, isn't that the real purpose of much of our education? We know about University extension courses for which we pay twelve dollars a course; we know about classes for illiterates; but education—not to make money or eliminate intolerable handicaps—education just for the joy of it, to make leisure richer and more worth struggling for, to make us able to think critically and safe-guard us from propaganda—that is just too difficult an idea for many of us, hardened into the system of note books and facts and memorizing and examinations.

On the second day, a state program was proposed which would unite all the forces in the state and set going an active campaign. That was the task of Ethel Richardson, assistant state superintendent of public instruction, who has developed the work for immigrants. The plan contemplates a state Executive Committee composed of representatives from the three groups calling the conference. This committee will help to fit together the activities of these three agencies. It will comb the state for such as have intellectual hobbies who are interested enough in people to communicate their enthusiasm to others, by leading small groups for short courses. Also the central committee will try to discover subjects in which adult minds can best be interested and suggest outlines and bibliographies. Most important of all, it is proposed that the state committee stage an experiment in one local community, where conditions are favorable and capable of imitation. In many of the evening high schools short unit exploratory courses will be continued on all sorts of subjects—such as Modern Poetry, How to Read the Magazines, Man and his Origin and carefully named courses in the fields of psychology, history, economics, etc. When a sufficient number of more serious students can be discovered in these more popular classes, the hope is to turn them over to the university and establish classes of an advanced character. Some libraries will assign staff members to study the readers who come regularly and encourage them to organize classes in their own subjects with a public school teacher in charge. The program met with general favor.

The third day was preceded by a great many committee meetings each made up of the people who came from a given locality. At the main session, each locality through a spokesman previously chosen, told what opportunities there were for adult education in his own community. That did the trick. By scrutinizing their home towns, the speakers caught the idea and the most amazing promises of pioneer efforts for the next year came forth. By careful guidance from the state steering committee, these efforts should be brought to a most interesting development.

"The last two days gave me fresh hope for public education," writes Miss Richardson. "Many of the superintendents and principals left, but those who stayed said that this was the most interesting convention they had ever attended. We proved that teachers can be utterly free, professionally devoted beyond anything one dreams of and creative to the last degree. We had directors of immigrant education from big cities, from rural counties, from country towns and fashionable suburbs. First and last they told stories of their adventures that make fiction tame. All of them began by saying that their classes were their least important activities, and then went on to show how by every possible device they were working with whole communities, native and foreign born to bring about better human understanding, more wholesome recreation, richer living and a better society.

"It was as gay and spontaneous as can be. Laughter rippled through the crowd every minute. They had never seen one another before and in an hour they were intimate. One woman began by telling how her little town was torn by factions and she could find no way in—until she agreed to keep the keys of the cemetery and get up day or night when she was called to deliver them. They served as the keys to the whole community. Bit by bit, she made friends, until she now has all factions working together in the spring festival or the autumn canning parties. One was amazed at the ingenuity they had all showed in making education do the thing it must do if it fulfils its purpose—namely teach people how to live together in our complicated kind of a world."

THE newspapers have received optimistically the report of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (published in the Monthly Labor Review for July) that the figures it has compiled "would seem to indicate that [building] construction in the country as a whole had, by the

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Rollin Kirby in the New York World

HELP! HELP! HELP!

large amount of construction in recent years, made up for the slump of the war years." This conclusion is reached by comparing the index figure for the amount of new construction shown on building permits issued in 130 cities with an index for the increase of population; the bureau traces the developments of the years 1914-1924 as follows:

If the index of building done had exactly followed the population index, then it is assumed construction would have just filled the requirements. This did take place in 1915. In 1916, however, there was an excess of building operation over population of 10 points in the index number. In 1917, the year of our entrance into the World War, there was a restriction in building with construction 43 points below the population demand of that year. In 1918, building construction was but a trifle over a third of the construction of 1914 and 73 points below the demands of the population of that year. In the succeeding three years, 1919, 1920 and 1921, construction was still below the normal construction needs for the year as indicated by population. In the year 1922, however, there was a building boom with construction far in excess of the normal need for that year and the boom swelled in volume each year, 1923 and 1924.

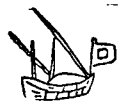
By the end of 1924, the bureau finds, construction was "about four-tenths of a year ahead of current needs."

Fine figures, these. The plasterers and bricklayers would seem to have put over their strikes to give demand a chance to catch up with supply? But they leave one cold. Gross volume of building may mean anything or nothing when the question at issue is the rate at which housing for the wage-earner is catching up with the deplorable shortage of the war years. And taking the year 1914 as a base assumes altogether too much as to the adequacy of housing, with reference either to quantity or quality, even before the war.

Analysis of new construction figures in city after city has shown overproduction at the top of the rent-scale and underproduction or no production at all at the bottom. The New York State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning called attention last spring to the fact that even though 29,000 of New York's miserable old-law tenements had been destroyed or converted to other uses since 1916, there are as many apartments occupied now in such houses as there were in 1916. Shrinking rents, in other words, have not yet shrunk to the place where it is possible for families now living at less than nine dollars per room in antiquated buildings in New York to move into better quarters: instead they crowd themselves into the shrinking space.

Meanwhile little or nothing is heard of slum clearance, either in New York or the cities that vie with it. Low-cost housing is for the most part left to the speculative builder, who builds ill if he builds at all. A few experiments in various types of private financing for social gain are showing promise. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company announced during the summer that its nine-dollar-a-room tenements in the borough of Queens were paying something over nine per cent on the investment—a return which, with the help of tax exemption, is safely over the minimum which the company set for itself. But the Metropolitan is doing no more building. The City Housing Corporation is putting up ingeniously planned and soundly built houses and selling them and paying its limited dividends. The needle trade unions of New York are committed to a cooperative tenement group in the Bronx—miles distant, incidentally, from the workshops in central and lower Manhattan—and though final decision as to plans has not been made there is a fair probability that the houses will be good of their kind. But such efforts are as yet trifling in their total impact on the problem of housing in an overgrown city.

The plain truth is that the housing of workers is a shamefully neglected civic responsibility. Such figures as those circulated by the Department of Labor, lacking analysis and interpretation, may well encourage a complacency which the facts are far from justifying.



"ARE Parents People?" runs the impertinent title of a current movie play. The question is perhaps given some force by the neglect often shown parents by educators, schools and those having to do with the bringing up of children outside the home. The Child Study Association of America, Inc., with a different idea, is announcing an unusual conference to be held October 26-28 at the Hotel Waldorf, New York. Parents are especially invited, and many of the difficult adjustments of children, as well as how best to develop their potentialities, will be discussed.

The family of the present day, the community as it surrounds the family and sets conditions for it, the teaching of the whole child in school, the use and abuse of leisure, and some fundamental values for the guidance of parents: these are other topics. Among the speakers are Dr. Bernard Glueck; Dr. Beatrice Hinkle, author of The Recreating of the Individual; Dean J. E. Russell, of Teachers' College, New York city; Miriam Van Waters, whose Youth in Conflict has struck a wide appeal; Helen T. Woolley, assistant director of the Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit; and Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Following the conference will be a ten-day institute for practical instruction in the holding of child study groups, and Dr. Glueck will there describe "consultation clinics" to be attended by parents.

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Hawthorne Gives Alms

IN the dusty haze of an August afternoon Penelope and I found the place Letters & Life was named for. The inquisitive passion of our Ford for exploring took us down a blind alley in New England. Tourists and teachers were seemingly going to sea in huge white omnibuses. But we all stopped on the edge of Salem Harbor. On our right was an oak-leaf brown house in a pleasant garden—a house all of angles.

"The House of Seven Gables!" whispered Penelope.

There was a leaded window crowded with sea toys and old things—of the genus gift shop. "Admission to the House—Twenty-Five cents," read the sign and from the garden spun a turnstile—"Exit Only" as at the Polo Grounds. We have a hatred of hearing stupid guides mumble dull rigamaroles through the empty habitations of the dead great, but we went in. This proved different. It was crowded, not ghostly, and for cicerone we had a young and very sweet child, remarkably blond and Anglo-Saxon.

"This is a fire-place. . . . Here you can see the original beams. . . . You can go up the secret stairs alone. I'll meet you at the top." She apologized for her weary broadcasting. "There have been hundreds here today."

"But why let us go alone," quoth I. "We're married." She smiled wanly, but when she rejoined us as we emerged from the hot laddery way alongside the chimney—where some one anciently fled from witch-mongers—young blond innocence giggled—"How did you know I meant that was for that?" With this and the attic heat, the ice was completely broken.

"You know I'm just a volunteer guide. The money all goes to The House of Seven Gables Settlement Association." Well, I felt easier over my four bits. The House was so abustle and alive—the ghosts of the Pyncheons and the shy Nathaniel whose desk we saw wouldn't have time for introspection. But they weren't being exploited. They were being shared. I nudged Penelope—the prerogative of marriage—"Letters & Life. . . . ." and winked.

Maybe you knew, but I didn't, that the Seven Gables Settlement Association has for fifteen years, it seems, been making the serene and legendary House a neighborhood center to interpret America to the foreign-descended factory peoples of Salem. The beginning was due to Caroline Emmerton and now there is the old House and the garden with a tea room and a diplomatic and not too sticky hostess and a second residence for some of the settlement work, all governed by a Board that includes an Ives, a Cole, a Quincy and an Adams! There are eight resident paid workers, so Helena Geer of Sloyd and Basketry, doing the honors for Elizabeth Dunham, the head worker, now on vacation, told us while we tried the seductive curves of a captain's chair from Hong-Kong, in process of being recaned. The budget last year was over $14,000 of which visitors paid $7,150 for admission to the House (that means nearly 30,000 pilgrims) and $950 for gifts in the Shop and $429 more for the privilege of having tea in the pleasant garden with the soft pearl grey outlook over Salem Harbor. The memory of Nathaniel Hawthorne contributed all told over 60 per cent of the money spent on clubs and classes and teams and nurses for the mothers and children of the Salem factories.

The people who use this House as a vestibule to American life are polyglot. About half are Poles, quarter, Irish, and the rest run from Russian, Hebrew, Syrian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian through Austrian and French to Swedish, Scotch, and English. I asked if there were much relief work. "Gracious, me!" was the surprising reply. "They don't need money. They're better off than the workers and volunteers are themselves. Lots of them have their own automobiles. We are busy trying to make them better Americans." Could anything be more fitting in a world where things so seldom fit? There's probably not a more American house on the continent than this made famous in Hawthorne's novel. Its very beams are of the soil; its furniture was made by American hands in American styles, with that very American mixture of certain foreign bits borne over seas by the far-voyaging and gift-bearing sea captains. Most real American homes have their souvenirs of foreign lands to show we were all once an emigrant folk and our ships touched at many ports. And Hawthorne—

The House of Seven Gables

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Puritan recorder of the Puritan themes, Yankee transcendentalist who summed up that deep New England preoccupation with the things of the conscience! If the Poles and the Austrians sense what made him almost the most American of American authors they will understand better why it is they can't have beer any more. Here under seven peaks is part of our history for three hundred years made incarnate in wood and plaster. I wonder whether or not the thirty thousand visitors are not the real clients of the Settlement Association who are sent away with some vision of the old America and some idea of the manifold duties of the new. Take it either way—this modest group is doing something real for the U. S. A.

The only thing I missed was a psychiatric clinic run on the model of Dr. E. Freud. It seemed the one place in the world where people might want to be psychologized. For here certainly dwelt formerly one who delved deep into repressions and symbols and stigmata, and who released in beautiful prose the interrogative voices of unquiet souls. But the activities here are like the place all sunlit and human. The idea back of it all I judge to be to make better homes, and happiness in them. And that perhaps is the only Americanization anybody really wants. That explains the work in cooking and sewing and hand-crafts, the lessons in piano and violin, the story telling and kindergarten, the mothers' club and the visits. There is little display of the sick or the pauper here. The House of Seven Gables is realizing the ambition of all old houses—it is a home.

The Ford grumbled happily as she cut her arabesques getting out of the road that dropped into the sea. As often the blind alley she took wasn't blind. She barked the shins of a trailer from Iowa, and hit the Gloucester road. Penelope mused dreamily: "Things do, don't they, sometimes? The old sea captains sailed out beyond the light yonder to all the world and now all the world sails here. . . . I wonder whether Poles believe in witches. . . ."

Beggars Come to Town

THE migratory worker has beaten his way onto the stage. Beggars of Life, Jim Tully's acrid, jovial, robust and real memoirs of his hobo life, has been made into a play at the Greenwich Village theater by Maxwell Anderson who helped Laurence Stallings reveal the marines in What Price Glory. The title—Outside Looking In—tells the main theme of this first serious offering of the season. It is a sort of dramatic slumgullion—tramp for Irish stew. The plot if any is a thin worn strand of crook melodrama. What a social worker would call a delinquent girl comes back to a Western town from the street and kills her step-father who first contributed to her delinquency. In flight from the dicks, she and her lover, Little Red, land in a tramp camp, or jungle, where a miscellany of hoboes including a South-escaping Negro, are waiting the fast freight. They beat up the detectives, the switch-light goes red to green, and they all tumble into a box-car (act II). The rest concerns the girl's escape from the law, and her final escape from Oklahoma Red and Arkansas Snake—who fight for her young body while the wheels rumble-rumble and the lover cuts his rope binding with a knife the girl slips him while she Delilahs Oklahoma. The dicks are defeated by Oklahoma—the real hero—who has a change of heart; Little Red and Edna get away and the tramps

Outside Looking In at the Greenwich Village Theatre

take thirty days. It's not exactly the triumph of virtue, considering everything, though the final curtain gives almost that notion, but we do get the desired happy-ending to what is quite rightly called a comedy.

This is stuff from the Nineties, but the energy and meaning of the piece is not in its gun-play but in the truth of the new background, the philosophy, biography and language of the tramp chorus, the satire on established institutions, and the vision it gives us respectables of the nether side (as in Gorki's Lower Depths); and the cursing. Take the cursing. There's a lot of it on our stage, but it will not shock, though it may surprise any case-worker. Men and women do curse, often about as innocently as they breathe. But staging a lot of he-curses does not after all metamorphose melodrama into profound sociology. It's a step toward realism, but only a half-step at that, for no director would dare stage nor any audience be amused by an honest transcription of the real language used by some—not all—tramps. Our most foul-mouthed plays are only bits of symbolism; they can't be the real thing. They hint at the blasphemy, but rightly avoid any touch of the bestial obscenity that is part of the day's talk. You can in fact imply the profane element in the words I used to hear a Baptist Sunday-school teacher use—"By darns"—just as well as by recording the final perversions of language.

None of these cursing plays use profanity with any seeming appreciation of the light it throws on character. The worst language I ever heard was from an engineer on a Mississippi river steamboat, and it seemed to come from a desire of a rather sensitive person to live amiably with low-grade companions. Often profanity covers an inferiority complex; and sometimes it is an emotional release for a crude poetry or religious sense. It's the voice of a dumb soul. For others it is satirical, philosophical, or humorous. They play with words for social ends—you remember when you called Owen Wister's Virginian a certain descendant you had to smile? Someone may yet put on a curse play that will enlighten us as to the kinds of hearts and minds we deal with, but until that we think we have had enough for symbolic realism. The rest may be spared for art as well as morals. We don't want to waste our new freedom of speech.

Outside Looking In is a good "show," colorful, amusing, full of thrills. It's such good theater that New York will like it and I judge even the out-of-town may see it for some

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time. It will run. That's a good thing for people can get here a glimpse of the very real problem of one group of migrants, and see for themselves (though the play will not prove this) that there is a group that will not conform because they don't like civilization and because civilization is not able to take care of them. The kangaroo court in a rolling box car where one tramp is tried by his fellows in a bitter parody on our institutions of justice is funny—and then not funny. It's done in a jazz-way and too full of wise-cracks, but you can learn even so.

The comedy may enlighten the public, but it will prove of slight use to the student of industrial conditions or the criminologist. It's light and thin, not to be compared with Tully's own experiences, or with studies from Walter Wyckoff to Carleton Parker. The play answers nothing, nor pretends to, on the casual of the roads. And as I go year after year to the theater, welcoming amusement of course, but always hoping that somehow, some day, I shall see that famous slice of life, I question more and more whether the theater can present a slice of life. I am suspicious that it is not the place to embody case-work though it always tempts as the one great place for propaganda. It isn't; for you have to do something to facts to get them onto the stage—or to get an audience to come and see them. You must simplify and prettify, as here, and you must shock only in the theatrical way, never by the naked truth, so the plays are never quite real enough to be a guide to thinking or social construction. If it has glints of data, or lines that stir thought by sceptic criticism that's enough to expect. Here is Outside Looking In—a title that promises to cut deeper than it does—pretty honest, full of good characterization, recording the existence of some queer birds of life. You'll enjoy the gay picaresque devil-may-care zest of this, but you'll learn a lot more about tramps if you read Jim Tully's vigorous and first-hand book.

The River Who Laughs

IN Dark Laughter, his best novel, and his latest, Sherwood Anderson still seeks the real. He feels (that's the word) that civilization has divorced us from our hands and short-circuited our passions until we can no longer do man's work or have women's children. In this warm-blooded novel a weary Chicago reporter runs amuck against his life and his wife who is by way of climbing into the minor world of letters. Her meagre "career" keeps her from wanting children and arouses her realistic husband's contempt. He can't stand the babble and the pose. He eats her lamb chops in the dull flat the last time, and beats it. It's an old theme well-known to the social worker when the husband just gets tired and deserts. It's like Somerset Maugham, you remember, so this third of the book might be called Moon and Four Bits. The study of this very modern mood in men and its slow growth and cold crisis are bitingly done. The psychology is so real that we pass on with a bitter doubt and question in our hearts: how many men feel this way? how many want to run? is this the poison in the heart of too many urban brain-workers? It's not their wives that they hate or their work, but the insulation from sweat and dust and hand-craft and home.

The second third is John Stockton's Odyssey. He hears the dark laughter of the Negroes along the Mississippi to New Orleans who live without thought and with emotion. He drifts, sun-blind, dusty, indolent, with tides of men and under the spell of the old giant River. Those who don't know the Mississippi may think this worshipping picture of its life a fairy-tale. I was born on its banks and lived on its bosom down where it is a fertile flood of yellow silt—a kind of blind, fecund, tale-bearing bulk of endless water. It is not beautiful in any ordinary sense, but it is cosmic. It's the run-off of a great mid-nation and it seems to bear with it something of the breeding urge, the births and deaths, the work and sweat, the dull days and battles with weather, the corn growing and the human grief of all the acres it is born on. It's a cynic, obscene, fertile, loving, hypnotic River that should have its own God as did Father Nile. It is dark laughter.

Here Mr. Anderson indulges his lyric strain and he surely is our most lyrical novelist. There is none like him save Scott Fitzgerald and John Lawson on the stage. Life is dance to them. It's both rhythmic and disordered and so their technic gets disordered too. I can't tell whether Sherwood Anderson is remembering Joseph Conrad's tale-telling devices in the involute and crab-like way he gets Dark Laughter told, or whether he is just subdued by his own moods and the undulations of his own material. Some of this hits; some is artifice—the repetitions, the motif-method, the business of dropping off the edge into the middle and then going both ways up the ends. It seems a thing you either like or don't. Personally I don't like too much of it. I know you can't tell a mood or interpret a region by the devices of geometrical problems, but I do think Dark Laughter at times falls into what my cynic salad days dubbed "dithyrambic humpty-dump." He even interpolates a couple of free verse poems—to which in a lyric novel nobody can object save that Mr. Anderson's prose is so much more poetical and beautiful than his poetry.

But the lyric feeling has here secured a unity and compression that seem far better than anything done by him before. There are spurts of passion, incidental revelations of inner life such as the half-memory that John Stockton has that his mother must have kissed a strange young man on a river-boat when they were on a trip and he was very young. This author feels people and places and crises within the self; he doesn't think them, and so the means he uses to put them in our souls must be left to him. Where so much is beautiful and moving we can forgive the slip that is the penalty of all ambition.

At all events, the seeker for peace, John Stockton, drifts up and catches in a job painting automobile wheels at Old Harbor, Ohio, on the upper River. He lands like flotsam beside old Sponge Martin who has the gift of hands and who caresses the varnish onto the rims and spokes. Here is perhaps the best character portrait Sherwood Anderson has ever done. It's real, both inside and out—and the outsides have sometimes been overlooked in the past. Sponge and his old woman get drunk on a saw-dust pile by the River once in a while and he still tells of the pride of craft that made him refuse once when he owned his own carriage painting shop to finish a job too quickly for good work. John Stockton finds that his hands are slowly getting back on the end of his arms where they belong according to Anderson. This love of the skilled hand on the useful job is the only lesson he seems to want to teach.

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The wife of the rich young owner of the wheel works sees John as he comes from work. They exchange some sort of electronic impulse. She discharges a Negro gardener: advertises: John comes and takes the job—and so the story reaches its inevitable climax one day when her husband is down at the celebration of a war anniversary with the American Legion. He had been over seas where they were thrown into each other's arms apparently only because they both overheard the tale of the perverse and Dionysiac ball of the first year of the art students after the war. Mr. Anderson loved this incident but he leaves it far from convincing—you can't tell anything in an American novel that has seared souls forever. The censor won't stand for it, and just to talk about how terrible things were without any evidence is cold porridge. Infinitely better than this tour de force is the study of the feeling and final futile gestures of the young good husband who cannot arouse his wife to vivid love. Mr. Anderson implies that this sterility has something to do with money and commerce and maybe means that his sap has gone into a national advertising campaign to sell more wheels. But what he doesn't do after he discovers his wife is leaving him, already pregnant, by this tramp, is ironic and pretty heart-rending. And so the two Negro women in the house giggle and then laugh their dark laughter at the fool white folks who need morals and can't obey the imperial messages of the blood.

Mr. Anderson is an introvert novelist, not an extravert like Sinclair Lewis and so his books are moody books. What you really get are his moods as he faces life, nature, passion in people of one kind or another. He often makes his people feel what he feels not what they might feel, but the whole thing produces an orchestral thunder that is thrilling. His use of the throbbing urges of Nature for back-grounds—or shall we say for both hero and plot?—gives a meaning to his realism that men like Dreiser never get.

Laurence Stallings says:

> Dark Laughter is the finest contemporary estimate of American life, written with the greatest sincerity and restrained passion, done with a yawpy stentorian barbarism unheard in these States since old Walt Whitman.

We can't agree to all this, but sincere the book certainly is, and compact of thick warm juicy blood-born passions distilled out of the very earth the understanding of which separates Mr. Anderson's work from the over-dressed and emasculate cerebrations of our minor cynics.

His thesis that life will forever become fertile and that the dark laughter of the Negroes and the darker laughter of the old fruitful River will somehow bear the vagabond malcontent until he finds and fills the restless empty wife of commerce may or may not be true. But it's a hopeful and too rare mood that holds the River will bend you to its cosmic purpose though you may see little sense therein, and the race go on, and hands do work—and writers come to peace in reality at last. It's good to believe that you can never quite count on sterility while the Negroes and the Big River laugh their dark laughter, even if a moment after there are girlish tears and the rent to pay. The deed's done then, and that's God's business, says Sherwood Anderson in this passionate plea in that great modern *cause célèbre*—Nature vs. Civilization.

LEON WHIPPLE

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The American Fund for Public Service, generally known as the Garland Fund, has voted to finance the publication of a series of standard works of literature and education in the service of the movement for workers' emancipation. The series is to contain two hundred titles, to be put upon the market at the lowest possible price, and known by some such title as "The Workers' Classics," "The Radical Classics," or "The People's Classics." Upton Sinclair will be the editor, with an advisory editorial board of twenty or thirty, to be appointed. Over one hundred thousand dollars will be invested in the series which is planned to constitute a permanent treasure of the labor movement throughout the English-speaking world. All points of view in the working-class movement are to be represented, and the series will include fiction, poetry, drama, history, philosophy, politics, economics, finance, and translations from foreign languages. *Those interested in the proposed series are asked to contribute suggestions as to the works to be included.*

DO you know what titles popped into our fool head, gentle reader? Alice in Wonderland, Arabian Nights, Robinson Crusoe, and the Bible! That must have been pure midsummer perversity. Be that as it may, Mr. Sinclair's own tentative list seems so bitter and melancholy, so full of ironic records of man's inhumanity to man that it needs some silver lining. Can man be driven upward solely by records of despair, like Gorki's Lower Depths, Wilde's Reading Gaol, London's People of The Abyss, Zola's Germinal, Richard Whiteing's No. 5 John Street, or O'Neill's Hairy Ape? It isn't other people's hunger in books that makes social revolutionaries. Nor do we think it is philosophy or libertarian doctrines, such as Rousseau's Social Contract, Thoreau's Duty of Civil Disobedience, Veblen's Theory of the Leisure Class, or Spradding's Great Libertarians. All of these are great books, and the idea of making them cheap and accessible is a fine thing, but we need something else.

Man after all is an heliotropic organism. He seeks the sunshine. And he isn't interested in theoretical liberty unless he wants something badly. Then he'll make his own liberty.

So we just suggest that in these latter days when poverty is no longer the controlling factor, and when jails bring no social obloquy on the radical, that memoirs of poverty and prison are not the people's classics. The Utopias of More, Plato, Wells, and Morris are much better books for progress, for they are fairy-tales—literature of escape. So are visionary books, like Carpenter's Love's Coming of Age and Herbert Quick's On Board The Good Ship Earth. The sum of our criticism is that you have to make people want something. You have first to want to make them read so we hope our idea on Robinson Crusoe and the Arabian Nights will not be scorned even if they be included just as bait.

The proposed books are mighty cold and clammy fare to tempt readers from the masses. Give them a little sweetness and light, at whatever cost to radical philosophy. For they can get most of these books now, not very expensively, yet they *don't read them.*

In the second place, to get the better state men must want it. Will the People's Classics make them want it—or go to sleep?

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CHRISTIANS AT THE CROSSROADS
(*Continued from page* 10)

organized more efficiently on a better economic basis; have more school spirit; tend to give women a higher place; promote social relationship, physical education and vocational training better than the Government schools. These and other good points tend by comparison to bring up the standards of government schools. One of the leaders of the conference, a young Chinese recently graduated from a Christian college, in discussing privately the question of religious education, revealed quite clearly the extent to which the spirit of nationalism has taken root in the aims of the young idealistic leaders of the new China. The question was put to him, "Why should required religious instruction be abolished from all the mission institutions?" It was frankly admitted that compulsory chapel attendance and religious instruction in university grade or even of higher middle school grade, was open to question. It was pointed out that one very notable mission university in Peking had recently taken this action, but why in elementary schools where students are very largely from Christian homes is there an objection to required instruction in the Christian religion? It was pointed out that there are many private schools and children whose parents do not believe in such instruction are perfectly free to attend either the private, or the government schools. His reply ran as follows: First, it is difficult to secure teachers who will teach religion without insisting on western dogma. What would be taught would not be the essential meaning of Christianity as related to a way of life but doctrines ill suited to the mind of primary students. Second, the suggestion that these Christian schools should be very largely or almost entirely from Christian families is precisely what is not wanted. The Christians today do not want to be considered as a separatist group in their own little system. Third, religion is best taught through the personality of the teacher and by the organization of school life. Formal teaching is of less importance than the Christian spirit thus caught.

In this reply the question of the value of religious education in lower schools was really not met but the reaction against "Western dogma" and the desire for solidarity with one's fellow countrymen was given voice to. Throughout the entire conference nearly every question was discussed and settled under the influence of an intense feeling of nationalism.

The discussion on the Life Work of College Students revealed the fact that the critical situation faced by graduates of Western Institutions in this country was fully realized by the students themselves. There is a reaction against the too generally accepted ways of getting a living after graduating from college. First, taking up teaching to train more young men, many of whom will again become teachers. This has been designated by the students themselves as "the squirrel in the revolving cage system." The second method is obtaining political positions. We have in Peking Western returned students trained in medicine working in the Board of Foreign Affairs; specialists in philosophy in the Department of Agriculture. Hosts of young men are holding down nominal official positions giving little return in actual service. The students at this conference realized fully the extreme difficulty in a country not yet developed industrially, in finding positions for professionally trained men. There was however a general determination shown throughout the discussion of this topic to pioneer with new forms of work for the sake of the development of the nation. The challenge of the country district and of mass education; the need of the development of new lines of industry and many other tasks requiring the pioneer spirit were given prominence both from the platform of the conference and in the discussion groups.

The consideration by the whole conference of military preparedness revealed the two camps into which the thinking Chinese are now divided. On the one hand, were the moderates; in Peking at present the majority party—who stood for negotiations, the use of the boycott first against Great Britain and only later the taking of further steps. On the other hand there were the radicals who shouted loudly for an immediate declaration of war on England and "preferred death rather than national shame," and some of whom have actually joined Feng Yu Hsiang's army. It is significant that all present, with one exception, most heartily favored the introduction of military training in the schools of China. Even the most convinced pacifist would find it difficult not to sympathize with the feelings of the students on this point. A young physical director at this meeting challenged the students to stand up, take off their coats and "see how many real men there are among you"—referring to the quite usual narrow and stooped shoulders of the scholar type in China. Military training is looked on as a means towards the physical development of China's young men. One of the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation advocated military training because he said the "Chinese know nothing about discipline. In General Feng's Army if an officer tells you black is white you must agree. Army life will teach the students how to obey."

Anyone even slightly familiar with the spirit of the Chinese students and of the Chinese people in general, knows that they are not naturally militaristic. There is a feeling, as one student expressed it, that this is "China's struggle for existence." Although there are a million and a half soldiers in China, it is quite realized on the part of the students that most of these are not directed by men who have truly patriotic motives. These young men feel that their country has been "set upon" so often, ridiculed as "pacifist China," that it is time for what has been too often a sedentary and physically ineffective student class, to prepare themselves for future emergencies.

It is always difficult, and especially now, to generalize about China, but from the present trend of events it is safe to say that a new national consciousness has indeed come into being and that future events will be shaped under the influence of this new feeling. The new life that has come to this country shows itself in different communities in different ways. Where there has been quite general, as in Shanghai and Hongkong, a marked attitude of condescension and racial superiority on the part of a large number of foreigners, the feeling of indignation is more intense and there has been an approach to a genuine "anti-foreign feeling" for many Chinese are unable to distinguish the nationals of different Western countries. In other cities such

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as Peking and Tientsin, there is much more discrimination and an absence of "anti-foreign" feeling. What has happened in various mission colleges during the last few months reveals not only the different temper of various locations in China, but reveals clearly the reaction to different forms of control and points of view on the part of Christian educators. Where there has been a tendency to autocratic rule and foreign domination, the reaction is most keen.

One would be indeed most rash to predict the outcome of the present movement, but one thing appears clear and that is that the responsibility for much that will happen in the future depends to no small degree upon the attitude of Westerners living in China and of the foreign governments dealing with the present Chinese situation. It is well known that the Chinese are a reasonable people. Most foreigners living in China think that one of the greatest weaknesses in this country is the tendency of her people to compromise on all issues. The Chinese, unlike the peoples of some Western nations, do not ride theories or plan through to the logical limit. As one foreigner said in discussing the question of whether or not China was likely to become Bolshevik, "I do not think so, for the Chinese will not carry a theory to its extreme limit. The Chinese will take an electric car in the direction they want to go but they always know when to get off and change cars and will not go clear through to the car barn." There is, however, one exception to this rule. They are accustomed to having compromise met with at least a degree of compromise. In dealing with a question such as the present one where the pride of the nation is involved, there will be absolutely no "give" on the side of China unless there is first a similar spirit on the part of the Westerners. The longer things are left unsettled, the more "incidents" will occur. The pride of the nation has been aroused and there is a determination not only to have the Shanghai and other incidents adjusted; but to take up more fundamentally the situation in China resulting from what Dr. Sun phrased "the unequal treaties."

In few countries does personal attitude count for more and a merely legalistic attitude for less. Not merely technical claims but also personal adjustments are essential in settling any dispute. Furthermore, from the Chinese viewpoint, in any difficulty, the one who first resorts to force acknowledges that for him the dispute has passed out of the realm of reason. His opponent has the moral advantage over him at once.

As illustrative of the manner in which difficulties of a similar nature to those in Shanghai are settled between Chinese, let me recount General Lu's method of handling the students in a recent difference between them and the minister of education. The students had marched to the minister's residence to demand an interview on a disputed point. The minister refused the interview and, so the story goes, escaped. The students did a good deal of damage to the house and then prepared to interview the chief executive, Tuan. General Lu invited the leaders to a restaurant to confer. He got en rapport with them, showed his sympathy, and suggested certain alternatives. There was no call upon the chief executive. Had the Shanghai municipal authorities shown some understanding and willingness to discuss, doubtless there would have been no "Shanghai Incident."

The question of the *attitude* of the foreigners and of foreign governments is of paramount importance. The

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purely legalistic mind finds the situation insoluble and incomprehensible. Technical privileges under outworn treaties are no longer the facts of large significance. A new national feeling and consciousness is the essential fact of the situation. Will foreign attitude and policy recognize this new situation and adjust policy to it?

Before very long it seems inevitable that the representatives of the powers and of China will sit down around the council table and consider the whole complicated Chinese problem. Will such a conference be of avail? Can the aspirations of new China be realized? Can legitimate foreign interests be protected?

Prior to the answering of these questions two others must first be settled. Will those who represent the foreign powers recognize the new spirit in old China? Secondly, can China, both her diplomats and her people, be given confidence in the good will and intentions of foreign nations?

Given a satisfactory solution of these two questions and a breathing space for getting China's house in order, it is at least possible that the tremendous energy and enthusiasm of new China now directed wholly against foreign aggression might be turned toward the setting of China's own house in order and the establishment of a strong, well governed and united nation.

THE MIND OF THE ANTHRACITE MINERS

(*Continued from page* 20)

IF this attempt at definition of the mind of the miners is even reasonably accurate, it suggests certain comments upon the approach of both miners and operators to the present crisis. Assuming that the present attitude of the miners toward the anthracite business is that of businessmen convinced that their contentions are based upon a thorough-going knowledge of the business, it is difficult to understand why they have not set up their own fact-finding service for their own guidance and that of the public. In spite of the economic exhibits which they presented to the 1920 commission and the recommendations with respect to anthracite accounting and finance which they presented to the United States Coal Commission, there is no evidence that in demanding a 10 per cent increase in wages, they had carefully analyzed its effect upon the cost of coal either at the mine mouth or in the consumer's bin. They seem to have had no adequate statistical analysis to support their contention that the industry can afford to pay the increase they demand without increasing costs to the consumer.

On the side of the operators it would seem unfortunate that the plea of inability to pay any further increase in wages without large increases of cost to the consumer should in turn be made without adequate statistical evidence by the president of one of the most profitable concerns in the anthracite industry.

The present spokesman for the operators is W. W. Inglis, president of the Glen Alden Coal Company. The properties of this company belonged until August 1921 to the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company. According to the report of the United States Coal Commission that company never paid less than a 20 per cent dividend from 1909 to 1921. In 1909 it paid a cash

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dividend of 70 per cent in addition to a 15 per cent stock dividend. In 1911 it paid dividends amounting to 55 per cent. In 1921 it paid a 100 per cent stock dividend in addition to an 18 per cent dividend in cash. When the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad sold its property to the Glen Alden Coal Company in 1921, assets which at the time of sale showed a value of $6,240,000 on the railroad company's books, were entered on the Glen Alden Coal Company's books at $72,240,000, an increase of $66,000,000. The Commission pointed out that while the $72,240,000 upon the books of the Glen Alden Company technically represents the original cost to that company, the stock holders of the coal company were practically identical with those of the railroad company and that little new money was invested at the time the transfer was made. On page 13 of its report on investments and profits in anthracite mining, the commission stated that it had omitted the Glen Alden Company from its statistical tables because the change of ownership made it impossible to set up the accounts on a comparable basis.

Were the company included, the profits of the industry would appear larger. Its mine had the lowest average cost of any large operator in the region during the four-year period, 1919-1922. Its margins are, therefore, large and its earnings correspondingly so. For example, in the first quarter of 1923 the average margin of the other railroad coal companies was 93 cents per ton. The margin of the Glen Alden was $1.48. The president of this company is now the chairman of the operator's committee who protests the inability of the operators to pay. This explains in part why the miners put their tongues in their cheeks at his contention in behalf of himself and his fellows.

In the case of the operators as in the case of the union, one cannot help raising the question as to why after all these years they should not have devised a system of accounting and publicity which would carry conviction not only with the miners but with the public at large.

IF they desire to remain in continued private control of an industry upon which the public depends for an essential commodity, it would seem that operators and miners, in view of the present businesslike attitude which both profess to have taken toward the questions at issue, should find some way to create or procure the creation of a fact-finding agency that would forever eliminate ambiguity with respect to such basic facts as those on which the present dispute turns. If they do less than this they may presently find that they have overtaxed public patience.

In the meanwhile, the public may slowly be educated by the process to see that it also is concerned in those facts, and look to its own stake in the industry.

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WILL DENMARK DISARM?

(*Continued from page 29*)

very intelligent civilization. Denmark's education, especially her rural education, has become the admiration of the world. It is quite generally admitted by all who know anything about the matter that something has happened in Denmark that has no exact parallel anywhere else in the world. Hence we need not be surprised that there are great trends of public opinion in her cities, towns, villages and rural regions, that are moving towards a civilization that is based neither on war nor on mere talk but on a very wonderful combination of the old cultural life of the people on the one hand, and the most assured application of modern science and organization to human affairs on the other. Denmark has seen her agriculture become the most prosperous in the world. Her rural economic life has developed the most complete cooperation that any nation has known. The Danes are not afraid of science, or of ideas, or of education, or of pioneering.

Moreover there is a "youth movement" in Denmark that must not be overlooked. It is not, as was in part the case in Germany, a movement sheerly of protest. It is not a unified affair. It is many movements—conservative groups of the most deeply religious, not to say fundamentalist, sort; ordinary exuberant developments of the kind known everywhere; groups connected with the folk schools in the country and villages; and the "Social-Democratic Youth" of the cities. In the platform of this latter movement, which, it must be understood, represents the young people of the now dominant political party, is this plank: "Uncompromising struggle against all capitalism and militarism, the end of all nationalistic prejudices and of the support of bristling national defences." There is probably no young person above twenty-five years of age in Denmark today who does not, in some fashion, feel the bitter truth of the remark made to me by one young woman: "It is not good," she said, "to be young in Europe, today."

Youth hopes it will be better some day and intends tc try to make it better.

Finally, if there is any place in the world where the *reasonable* proposal is likely to be accepted, that place is Denmark. I was in Copenhagen all through those incredible days when the famous "trial" was on in Dayton, Tenn. Danish papers carried brief accounts of what they good humoredly called the *Abe Processen,* that is, the monkey trial. My desire to find out the latest absurdity in connection with that trial was a stimulus to my efforts to learn to read Danish. My new friends asked me, "Does that sort of thing really represent America?" With one accord they agreed that nothing of the sort could happen in Denmark.

"We believe too much in ideas," said a priest of the national church to me. "We disagree about many things, in politics, religion, education, what you will. But on one thing we do not disagree. We believe that every idea should have a fair, free chance to be considered in the open. We believe that an idea that cannot win on its own merits is not fit to win. We should never think of calling in the police or the courts to help us put an idea over on the community. If an idea has vitality, it will live; if it has not, it will die, and it ought to die."

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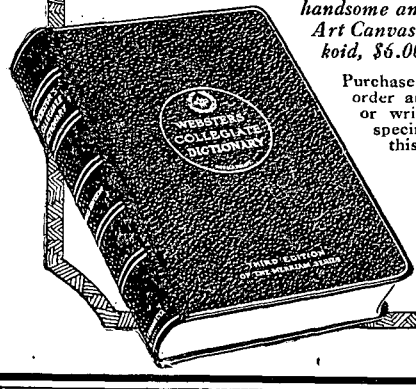

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This is the spirit in which Denmark is facing the problem of disarmament. It is an idea. Not a single idea, indeed, but a cluster of ideas with varying connotations and leading to various results. No one knows just which of the cluster is the most likely, or the most practicable. Group discussion, national excogitation, must slowly bring that point to revealment. When, and as, any specific proposal makes itself real and convincing in the minds of the people, parliament will probably give it legal status in the constitution and traditions of the nation.

It is this native realism that accounts for the worries of the more conservative. They may try to calm themselves by calling the talk about disarmament "damned nonsense," but they are really afraid the idea has vitality; and they know that, if it has, Denmark is going to move forward to some sort of disarmament, or at least reasonable retrenchment. They know that nothing can defeat it, in Denmark, if it gathers convincing proof of its reasonableness. They fear the outcome. They see Denmark making "understandings" with the Socialists of Germany; with the Labor party of Great Britain; even with the Soviet government of Russia. The prospect is not pleasing. Many of them would prefer war to such alliances. None the less, they do not propose to call in the police, or to invade the headquarters of the Socialist party, up there in Roemersgade, under the guise of being nobler patriots than are the socialists. It is "tough luck" in some ways, to have to live in these unheroic days of "intelligence" and such like follies; but every age has its own disadvantages.

I asked one of my most conservative friends how he liked the present situation. Not long ago, there was a great strike here in Copenhagen, which involved before it was ended practically all the workers and all the employers. In the settlement, the workers won everything they asked for, down to the last detail. "How do you stand being governed by the workers?" I asked, "much less having your economic fate dictated by the same workers?"

The reply was not forthcoming at once. But when it did come, it was characteristically honest and realistic. "After all," he finally replied, with a bit of a smile, "they, too, are Danes!"

SO the matter stands, in general, in the uncertainty of public discussion. Disarmament has not come to Denmark. It may not come for a long time, if at all. Retrenchment has not come, either. It may not come for a long time, but it is more likely than the other. Both are being discussed. No one now knows whether either will be adopted. Both are in the program of a very considerable party—perhaps, from the standpoint of the future, the most important of all the parties. But that party is realistic in its mental operations, and it is not inclined to forget the fact that in this modern world most nations still believe that poison gas is more important in war than a bag-full of paper plans, and that a torpedo will carry further than an idea.

One of the chief difficulties lies in uncertainty as to the attitudes of the neighboring peoples. Even the British Labor party cannot be counted upon to lend the Danes much support in the matter as it now stands. When I was in London on my way back to America, one of the influential members of that party said to me: "Of course, it's a noble gesture the Danes have made, but we are not much interested

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in it. It doesn't seem like practical politics to us. We prefer to work with the League of Nations. That may be a much more difficult method; but we feel that whatever is accomplished that way will be real, not merely a gesture."

If Denmark were the only nation in the world, one could predict with perfect certainty just what would happen. But in that case, of course, no such problem would ever have arisen. Denmark exists in the midst of modern Europe, and in modern Europe prediction is the most precarious thing in the world. There is a real contradiction between the internal civilization of Denmark and the conditions with respect to which she must adjust herself internationally. Intelligent, progressive, cultured, civilized beyond most, she cannot escape the fact that she is of the human family, and of Europe, where the human family has developed its most entangling questions. She will take the lead in the agitation of many great questions in the coming years. But her realistic statesmen, while working for every advance are certainly not now minded to defeat their own aims and destroy their own national civilization by forcing the issues on any of these questions too far in advance of the public opinion of the Danish people, or in a fashion too unmindful of the conditions that prevail in the rest of the world.

THE YELLOW BOOK OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

(*Continued from page* 15)

For more specialized work, and work in which there is no competition from women and children, the wage is larger. Fitters receive from twenty to twenty-eight dollars a month; lathe hands, twenty-two to twenty-eight, welders, thirty-two. A good carpenter can ask between twenty-one and twenty-six dollars a month. An ordinary machinist receives thirty dollars a month and a head machinist between seventy and seventy-five.

In addition to skilled and unskilled labor, there is what is known as coolie labor men, women, and boys from the lowest class in China, who do the heavy work of lifting, cleaning, carrying and saving face. A carpenter for example may saw and hammer all day with dignity and honor, but if he were to sweep up the dust and shavings about his bench he would lose face. A coolie must sweep up.

These coolies can be taken on for any length of time, and dismissed at will. They earn between five and nine dollars a month. The Number One coolie who directs them may recieve from ten to fourteen dollars. The coolie is so cheap that he takes the place of the truck, the elevator, and various other mechanical devices considered essential to western industry. A British firm in North China estimates that five coolies are cheaper than one mule and accordingly employs coolies instead of mules.

Individual efforts have been made by Shanghai factories to obtain an estimate of the cost of living of the workingman as a basis for his wage. The Y.M.C.A. in Shanghai, which has contacts with thousands of workers through their clinics, lectures, play grounds, and social service, estimated in 1922 that a single man could live for from six to sixteen dollars a month, and a married man with a wife and two children from fifteen dollars to thirty-seven dollars. The first figure represents the very minimum of existence. A Chinese foreman estimated ten dollars and fifty cents per month as the least a worker could live and work on without breaking down physically.

With the average skilled man earning but forty cents a day, and a woman thirty cents, the reason is evident for the men, women and children of a family entering the mills together to earn a subsistence wage.

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slate pencil. Yet factories in China equipped with the most recently perfected western machines operate under conditions darker than those of the darkest middle ages.

It is true that the enormous workrooms in the modern factories in Shanghai and Wusih appear from the outside to be built of lofty windows, but on the inside it is apparent that the space and light are there for the benefit of the product and not the producer. The machines stand in baths of dazzling light, and the workers pass from one end of the room to the other down a dim central aisle lined on both sides by whirling belts.

Recently equipped factories which enclose the most delicate machines in wire cages and admit special trained operators to them under the personal supervision of a foreman, make no provisions of any kind for the operators. Unless it is necessary for the operator to sit at her work, no seats are provided. Then they are low and backless. The argument is that the workers are accustomed to nothing else in their own homes, but there they do not remain six hours at a time, bent over a table, concentrating on almost invisible wires, or wrapping and stamping boxes.

Little attention is given to ventilation. In the silk and cotton mills there is decided prejudice against fresh and active air. It injures the quality of the silk as it comes from the cocoons. It stirs up the particles of cotton fluff and plays havoc among the large open baskets of cotton sitting about the floors.

As a result of the necessity for keeping the water boiling at one hundred and eighty degrees and the windows closed, the rooms are filled with live steam, and the women sit all day with the perspiration running down their bodies inside their wadded coats. In the cotton factories the air is so filled with lint, that the skin, nose and throat become clogged. Most of the operators work with open mouths. In the asbestos factories, the workmen wear little bags over their nose and mouth, but even then they have difficulty in breathing. In the match factories, yellow phosphorus, (forbidden in the west because of its poisonous vapors) is used because it is cheapest. The air of the workrooms is nauseating and poisonous. In the glass factories the air is filled with particles of drifting glass and gases. Young boys go about with open containers filled with red lead. Sometimes they wear a cloth over their mouths during the mixing, but they leave it in the mixing room when they have finished. Heat waves dance around the furnaces and the men, after working half clothed for twelve and fourteen hours in these enervating conditions, go out in the rain and snow to homes that are unheated the year round.

Even to one accustomed to the noise and animation of giant western workrooms, the best that can be made out of a Chinese cotton mill is that pandemonium has broken loose. Through the hot dusty air, he sees hundreds of spinning belts, hears the roar and whacking of row after row of machines. Passage ways are strewn with heaps of cotton, empty baskets, or baskets full and half full of spools. From the narrow aisles between machines groups of small girls gather to watch visitors, to laugh and point, or stand without motion or expression. Sleeping beneath the machines or nursing in their mothers' arms are naked or sketchily clothed babies. Tots from one to three years play in the main passages or run screaming from the stick of the foremen. Small boys sweep the litter into heaps around the base of machines. Older boys pull baskets of cotton and spools up and down. Foremen are everywhere, accelerated into action by the appearance of a superintendent, sprawled asleep across heaped baskets of cotton, or standing very close to the machine of a new operator or old favorite.

It is impossible to speak of the sanitary arrangements, so inadequate and unhealthful are they.

A common argument in defense of the existing conditions is that bad as they are, the worker is better off in the factory

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than in the home. This is not true, and especially where his food is concerned. In the homes the rice is eaten, steaming hot. The tea is hot. Summer and winter they are hot—and thus thousands have escaped an untimely death from the flies, polluted water, dust, filth, and disease that menace. In the factory their rice and tea are usually cold. Their "chow baskets," offering no protection against dust and odors, are left on the machines, floor, or wall hooks. Often the empty rice bowl and chop-sticks repose with the extra coats and shoes under the machines.

Some factories provide hot tea for their operators or allow them to souse the baskets up and down in a live steam. But as a rule the worker is neither permitted to eat in the workroom nor given a room where he can eat. No matter what the weather condition, he must eat outside.

The few factories that have tried to improve conditions, complain that the workers do not appreciate or respond to them. Investigation found that the improvement was more in line with their own interest than the workers or in the case of one or two foreign factories that they advanced too fast. A cotton mill provides a rice kitchen where the operators can procure their noon rice hot for four dollars and sixty cents a month. As this is more than they can afford to pay, they bring their rice with them and eat it cold. A British company has a large dining room and provides one hot meal a day to every employe. This, however, is given as part of the wage, keeps the workers within the compound at noon, and gets them back to work more quickly. The employes are dissatisfied with the arrangement, complaining that sand, and other extraneous matter are served with the rice. The real reason is that they would prefer the money and buy their own food more cheaply. The British American Tobacco Company at Hankow joined with a neighboring factory to build a large dining room where the Y.M.C.A. would provide meals at cost to the workers. The workers unreasonably preferred to eat their rice cold in odd corners, suspecting, not unlikely, that this was some foreign device to gain possession of their souls.

The only solution that no factory tries is the payment of a higher wage and a noon hour sufficiently long to enable the worker either to return home or to buy his food independently in one of the food shops that hover near each factory gate.

The lack of safety devices in the mills handicaps both industry and industrial worker. A coolie carrying a heavy load up an outside stairway steps off into space because there is no railing at the top. The number of injured workers in the Shantung Road Hospital in Shanghai alone is sufficient indication of the danger from broken and unprotected belts.

Because of their ignorance of things mechanical and the weariness and carelessness resulting from long hours, the Chinese operator is doubly in need of protection. The following paragraph dwelling obscurely in an issue of the North China Daily News is but one instance of the things that happen—

A woman employed at the Nagai Wata Number 7 Mill, Macac Road, met with a terrible death while at work in the early hours yesterday. She was tending a weaving machine, and stooping to pick up a spindle which had fallen, had her hair caught in the machinery. The machinery was stopped immediately, but the unfortunate woman was dead.

Very few precautions are taken against fire except by the foreign companies. In the courtyard of a Soochow match factory, surrounded on two sides by flimsy frame buildings piled to the ceiling with match stems, open fires blaze. Straw mats are spread to dry around them, and an open kettle of sulphur stands at the door of the sulphur mixing room. In the mixing room an iron stove is sunk in the floor and near by are the tables on which stand the pots of sulphur.

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There is seldom more than one stairway leading from floor to floor. Both Chinese and foreign stairways are either of wood or concrete covered with wood to protect them. The operators are not impressed with the necessity for care in using oils and waste, and wads of cotton lie in pools of oil around the machines. Fire drills are practically unknown. The factory district in Shanghai is in Chinese territory where water pressure is as uncertain as the fire department's protection. In the interior water is supplied by local pressure or coolie cariers. The danger of fire and tragedy go together.

ALL this makes a grim picture and is drawn reluctantly. It must not be imagined that every factory possesses every disagreeable feature. The mill that allows the most intolerable working conditions may have a friendly and paternal system of employment. The mill allowing its foremen to wield sticks during working hours, may offer special opportunities for education and training to boys showing excellent promise. The factory that works its operators seventeen hours, may have facilities for heating the rice at noon.

Several foreign factories are already raising the standard of working conditions. The British American Tobacco Company provides large, well lighted and ventilated workrooms, a ten hour day with an hour at noon for lunch and rest. Each workroom is under the direction of a foreign superintendent. In cooperation with the Y. M. C. A. they maintain an athletic field, a clinic, lectures and classes for the employes.

The workshops and working conditions in the Tientsin Pukow Railway Headquarters at Pukow duplicate those of America and England.

The Amos Bird Company offers perhaps the best working conditions in China today. Their plant is a reproduction of their factories in America. As exporters of food products they naturally make cleanliness their first care, and the fresh aprons and caps of the girls, the spotless workrooms, and facilities for personal cleanliness are ample evidence of it. They provide rest rooms and coat rooms where the girls must wash thoroughly before putting on their uniforms. They supply steam tables where the rice may be kept warm.

In addition to the efforts of these special factories are the initial developments in education and welfare. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. offer classes in English and elementary subjects, as do such colleges as St. John's and Shanghai college. Several of the churches have English classes for their worker members. The International Correspondence School offers special rates to workingmen for everything from algebra to writing.

Mr. Knott, manager of the United Products Company, has a little school of his own. Every week or two he writes out a simple explanation of some feature of engineering in the simplest language for his head foreman. The foreman in turn has a friend who translates it into simplest Chinese. Then little groups of workmen gather with the foreman to talk the lesson over.

A cotton mill provides a school for its blacksmith apprentices in order that when they are old enough to man the machines, they will understand them thoroughly. In the Toyoda Cotton Spinning Mill, a Chinese clerk maintains an entirely different type of school on Sunday. He teaches the workers the old moral precepts of Confucius, encourages them to talk over their difficulties, and tries to find a solution. The Tientsin Pukow Railway Headquarters has a night school where they teach English and hoped to teach engineering. The men, however, say that they know all about engineering as they work at it all day, and clamor for more English.

The Y.M.C.A. in Shanghai particularly is doing a great deal of good work among the industrial workers. They provide athletic directors, teachers, lectures, entertainments, medical

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attention, home visitors. The Y.W.C.A. is developing an industrial department which aims to help the working women and bring them and their employers to a better understanding.

AS far as the Chinese are concerned, the conditions are result of the common ignorance of employer and employe rather than of deliberate neglect and inhumanity.

The laboring classes of China have always been so accustomed to hardship and neglect that they accept the conditions imposed by the factory as harder than those they have ever known but still their lot. So numerous are the problems of securing, installing, and operating the new machines, that the Chinese managements have little time to consider the needs of the men and women only recently emerged from the handicraft arts, unaccustomed to factory demands and helpless as babes in the woods. Instead of going to Europe or America for machinery and instruction, the would-be Chinese manufacturer calls upon one of the machine importing houses in Shanghai and there orders everything from giant presses to oil cans. He never sees in action the industry which he proposes to carry on himself.

Only a few of the Chinese managers realize that the conditions are bad. When they visit other factories they find the same conditions as exist in their own. The welfare of the Chinese worker and its relation to the success or failure of his work has never before been considered in China's economic life.

There is another extenuating detail to relieve the blackness of conditions in Chinese operated mills. They have long hours, low wages, child labor, few holidays, and no accommodations, *but* they do not speed up the workers. The operators work easily, stopping to talk, eat, watch visitors, or follow any minor distraction. After every short interval of work, they automatically take a longer interval of relaxation. The foreigner, providing in many cases no better conditions under which to work, speeds up the workers under increasingly strict supervision, through a ten or twelve hour day. As a result the men and women who could have grown old under the leisurely methods of Chinese labor, are spent and thrown aside in their prime.

It must be said of many a foreigner managing the China mill of an international corporation with head offices in New York or London, that the conditions in his mill are not his own choice. The mammoth world corporations entered China for immediate profit, and only recently are becoming aware of China's industrial future. Their directors cannot read the Chinese character for "one," but they can read cost sheets in any language. Any change that will raise the "cost per thousand" a tenth of a cent must be referred to them, and they, sitting ten thousand miles from the seat of action, realize no need for hot rice, fresh air, and enclosed belts.

Neither Chinese nor foreigner can be held responsible for the whole range of unfortunate conditions in China's mills. No human agency could have foreseen all the problems that would arise nor directed their solution while placing an alien scheme of industry in the very heart of Oriental economic life. But until Chinese mill owners can learn enough of factory management to assume their share of the responsibility for the development and betterment of controllable conditions, the burden of initiative rests upon the foreign manufacturer.

Hours and wages will have to be adjusted, but comfort accommodations in the factory, of protection from machinery and from brutal and unjust foremen can be given the workers now. As the foreign manager of a Chinese factory said, "I can do nothing to improve the conditions in this mill while the Chinese directors can cite to me the inhuman practises allowed in foreign mills."

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BEFORE SIX

(*Continued from page 33*)

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WOMAN engaged in literary pursuits, would like part time work to do at home—research for articles, speeches or preparation of booklets and leaflets. 5315 SURVEY.

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Ridgewood, New Jersey Private family can accommodate one or two guests. Commuting Erie, Central. Ridgewood 125 M. 85 Woodside Ave.

YOUNG business woman, college graduate, wants at reasonable rates, room and board and care for two-year old daughter, in quiet, intelligent, harmonious home. Near or in Philadelphia. State particulars. 308 SURVEY.

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COOKING FOR PROFIT, by Alice Bradley, describes home-study course, which includes catering, tea room, cafeteria and lunch room management. "51 Ways to Make Money" free. Am. School of Home Economics, 5778 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

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112 E. 19 St. New York

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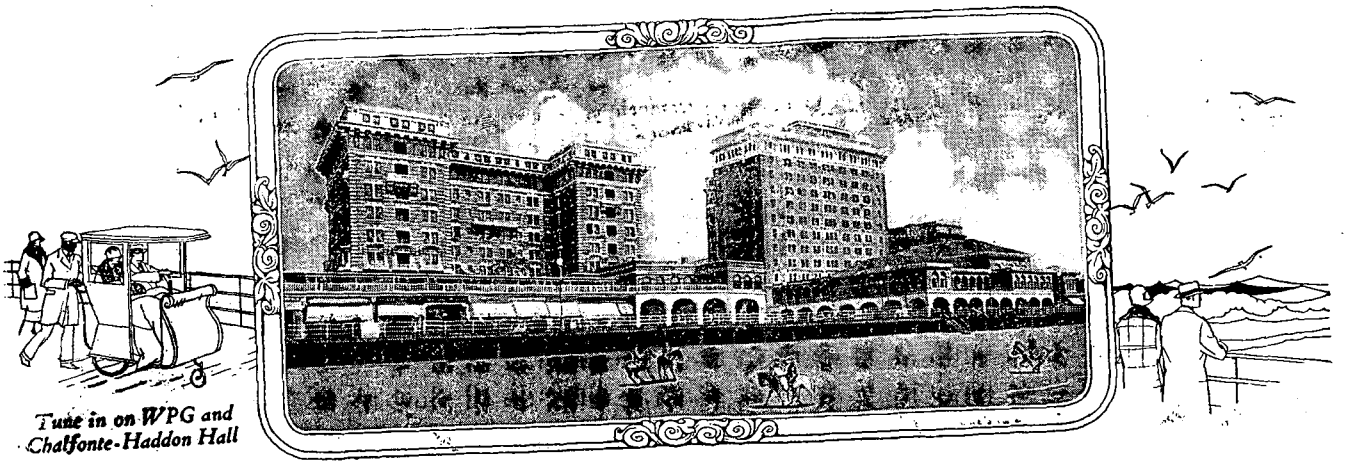

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